

THE CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN.

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THE PROSPECTS OF ASIA MINOR.

THE following questions have recently been asked by a leading minister in the Church at home : I. Is the British Protectorate to accomplish anything for the good of the people of Turkey? II. Is Palestine going to be colonised? III. What are the colleges, schools, and philanthropic establishments throughout Turkey doing for the good of the people?

I.

The first question is hard to answer. The writer was one of the most sanguine believers in good to come from the Anglo-Turkish Treaty, and gave expression to this belief both in private and in public in the years 1878 and 1879. The Turkish Government at that time had found itself prostrate at the feet of Russia, and, for the third time in its history, was rescued from utter destruction by the interference of the British Government. British statesmen, British diplomatists and officials everywhere had the confidence of the Turkish Government and people. England demanded reform as the condition of her friendship, and Turkey, under the pressure of such distress, political and financial, as she had never felt before, was only too ready to promise radical and universal reforms throughout the empire.

These reforms were to be in connection with the judiciary system, the collection of taxes, the police, and the admission into the army of the Christians of the empire. British officers were to be invited to organise the gendarmerie, the Indian system of taxation was to be introduced, British judges were to sit in the courts of appeal, and the depressed and oppressed Christians were to enjoy the privileges of military office and service.

Three years have passed. The Turkish parliament, whose short career interested Europe, has been forgotten. British officers have been gradually discharged from the Ottoman service, and German officers are being appointed either to fill their places, or to occupy different positions. The old oppressive system of tithing continues. The courts of justice are in nearly the same condition as before the

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Russo-Turkish War, with this modification, that the office known in America as "Prosecuting Attorney," and here called "Muddai Amûmi," has been introduced into many of them. Nothing is heard now of British judges nor of the Indian system of taxation. Christians have *not* been admitted into the army, and the Turkish military schools for training officers, though nominally open to all, are, as far as I can ascertain, filled with none but Mohammedan pupils.

The European journals have been filled of late with statements of the "new departure" of the Ottoman Government, in insisting upon the Khalifate rights of the Osmanli Sultan, and his spiritual sovereignty over the whole Mohammedan world.

There must be something in the general belief on this subject. I observe that the Arabic Mohammedan journals now speak of Abdul Hamed as "the Khalif," instead of "the Sultan," and there is an evident disposition to make what remains of the Turkish Empire as compactly Mohammedan as possible.

The questions with regard to this new phase of affairs are so delicate that I do not deem it wise to enter upon them in detail.

It is only just, however, to state that there is no evidence in Syria and Palestine to justify the belief that Christians, as such, are being persecuted or oppressed by the ruling powers.

The Turkish authorities are in many cases disposed to treat all men alike, as far as they can under existing laws. And in this city of Beirut, where the Muslim population number only one-third, and the Christians two-thirds, there is no reason for complaint. The officers of the municipality are elected by the people, and the majority are Christians, though the president is a Muslim, being appointed by the Mutserriif, a Turkish Pasha.

There is here a fair degree of religious liberty. A Muslim convert to Christianity, who has lately been publicly admitted to the Beirut Church, was present in the city council afterwards, when the presiding officer, Bedea Effendi, said to him, "Are you, then, a Protestant Christian?" "Yes." "Where, then, is your Bible?" "Here it is," said the youth. "Let us hear it," said the Effendi. He opened it at the first chapter of John's Gospel, and read it through, with comments, the whole crowd of Muslims and others keeping silence. The Effendi then remarked, "You are quite a disputant for your faith!" "Yes," said he, "I read in the Koran, in the fifth sura, the following words: 'Oh, ye people of the Book! ye are not grounded upon anything, until ye set up (observe) the Tourat and the Gospel, and that which hath been revealed unto you from your Lord.' So I have read the Gospel, and found Jesus Christ to be my Lord and Saviour; and now I am grounded on something!" The Effendi told him to go in peace.

There are not, however, many cities in the empire where such liberty could be enjoyed by a convert from the faith of Islam, because in Beirut, but in few others, education and Christian teaching, preaching, and

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printing have had a gradual leavening influence on the popular mind, making the leading men of all sects ashamed of such a thing as open persecution.

The British Protectorate, as such, hardly exists to-day. Cyprus still remains in the hands of England, and will probably so remain while the Ottoman Government continues.

As a military strategic point in the event of Russian aggression on Ottoman territory, it could hardly be abandoned by England. But to the outward observer this territorial or insular acquisition is about all that remains of the once promising protectorate. England may have far more influence than she appears to possess, but the general impression seems to be that the German star is in the ascendant.

Yet, whatever may be the policy and the preference of Turkish officials, there can be no question that the people of Syria and of Turkey at large, have more confidence in the honesty, integrity, and sincerity of the English people and Government than in any other. Whatever may be done or not done by the British Protectorate, the influence of the English name, Anglo-Saxon veracity, and the Protestant religion is evidently on the increase in every part of the East.

In all questions occasioning public anxiety, the *English Journals* are those to which men turn for reliable news. Protestantism stands as the synonym for two things: the English people, and personal and commercial integrity. This moral "protectorate" is wielding a mighty influence in Turkey to-day. Lord Dufferin is respected by Turkish officials everywhere, and by the people who are so fortunate to know of his high personal character, as the people of Syria are, from his residence here as British Commissioner after the massacre of 1860. The British consuls throughout the empire are, as a rule, men of high character, and in sympathy with every movement and every institution designed to elevate and benefit the people. They are generally Christian men, whose personal example is a blessing to the community in which they reside. Accordingly, while we must reluctantly admit that the reforms, so confidently anticipated as a result of the British protectorate, have not yet been even begun, we can take great comfort in the fact, that the agencies which are preparing the way for the highest style of reform, the moral and spiritual reformation of the empire, are at work with more present efficiency, and a better prospect of ultimate success than at any previous time.

II.

The second question, "Is Palestine going to be colonised?" may be answered without great difficulty. We take it for granted that the question refers to its being colonised by the *Jews*. In this aspect of the case we should say decidedly, No. There is no *present* prospect of a Jewish occupation of Palestine.

Three things must be secured in order to insure the success of a colony—viz., the permission of the Government, colonists, and a

place to live in. None of these "necessary things" has yet been secured.

The Turkish Government is fixed in its determination to prevent anything like organised colonisation by non-Mohammedan communities in any part of Syria or Palestine. It replied to the Roumanian Jews that they might come to Turkey, and be welcome, provided—1st, that they would become *bona fide* Turkish subjects; and 2nd, that they would not settle in either Syria or Palestine.

The Sultan wishes to fill up the waste places of this land with true Mohammedans, such as can be found among the Circassians, Tartars, Lazis, and Bulgarian Turks; but a consolidated Jewish colony he would naturally regard as forming a new centre for some future Bulgarian or Armenian question, which he has no room for at present. The Constantinople journals have stated plainly that the Sultan will not allow the germs of a Jewish kingdom to be planted in Palestine. But even were the Sultan willing, it is more than doubtful whether any considerable colony could obtain a footing in Palestine without serious collision with the existing population, unless they bought the land of the people at an enormous cost.

The Circassians east of the Jordan, who have been located in the ruins of Jerash and other old ruined cities, hardly venture outside their narrow limits, through fear of being picked off by the Bedawin muskets. The established German colonies at Jaffa and Haifa only maintain themselves by the strictest economy, and cannot be claimed to be successful in the sense in which Anglo-Saxon colonies are successful in America and Australia. It is doubtful whether even these hard-working and tough Teutonic religious enthusiasts can hold out another decade under a Turkish *regime* and a Syrian sky.

The United States Consul of Jerusalem informs me that the Jewish model farm near Jaffa is financially a failure, and is drawing on its capital to keep out of bankruptcy. The newspaper stories of great Jewish colonies pouring into Palestine, and buying up hundreds of thousands of acres of land are mere fabrications. The Rothschilds annually "mortgage and foreclose upon the Holy Land," according to the newspapers; but the old Muslim, Bedouin, Greek, and Latin owners continue in possession, and there is no sign of an attempt to dispossess them. The attention of Europe and America has just been drawn anew to plans for forming Jewish colonies in Palestine, by the persecution of Jews in Russia. Mr. Oliphant thinks that the funds raised for their relief can be wisely appropriated to aiding in their emigration to eastern Palestine. But as long as the Turkish Government continues in its present mood, they cannot obtain permission to settle in the land of their fathers. Should they come one family at a time, and buy property gradually, they might possibly succeed. By Turkish law, foreigners have now the right to buy and hold property in Turkey; but should a Jew now attempt, *as a foreigner*, to buy land in Palestine,

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he would be required to become a Turkish subject first of all. If the authorities suspected, however, that he belonged to a colony or large body of immigrants, he would not, probably, be allowed to purchase at all. This we infer from the openly-published statements of the Turkish official organs in Constantinople. Any attempt to colonise must first obtain the consent of the Sultan. This has not yet been obtained.

On the other hand, the tide of Jewish emigration seems turning to the Western Continent; and if the Jews are as shrewd in the selection of a home for their families as they are in the transaction of financial business, they will not long hesitate between such a land as Palestine and such a country as the United States.

The old and infirm, the pauperised wards of European Israelitish societies will continue to come to Jerusalem, to be fed out of the Rabbis' fund, and die in the city of David. This number may increase. Wealthy Jews like Sir Moses Montefiore may continue to erect structures for the comfort and convenience of the Jews in Jerusalem. But the time when Hebron and Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jericho, and the border towns of the Sea of Galilee will again be Jewish cities; when the farms, now occupied for centuries by Muslim and Arab fellahin, will be tilled by Jewish farmers like Boaz and Elisha; and when the hills will resound with the songs of Jewish "herdsmen of Tekoa" and shepherds of Bethlehem, seems as far distant now as at any time since the days of Julian the Apostate.

The Jews of Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut, Safed, Tiberias, and Jerusalem—many of those in the two former cities belonging to families of very great antiquity—are none of them, as far as I can ascertain, engaged in agricultural pursuits. Jews from Constantinople, Aleppo, and Damascus, with others from Europe, have come to Beirut during the past twenty years, built houses, and entered into business; but none are farmers. They are bankers, money-lenders, importers, dealers in clothing, new and old, and artisans; but the soil seems to be the object of their repugnance.

Is it not the Divine plan that they should thus keep aloof from the stable occupation of tilling the soil, in order that they may continue to be strangers and wanderers in every kingdom under heaven?

III.

The third question has reference to the "colleges, schools, and philanthropic establishments in Turkey." We cannot speak definitely of Turkey at large; but having just completed, at considerable expense of time and labour, an official report of the missionary, educational, and medical mission operations in Syria and Palestine, we select some of its figures, in order to give the readers of this journal a correct view of the agencies at work in the lands of the Bible.

From this it appears that there are some twenty-three foreign societies and committees engaged in evangelistic and educational work

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in Syria and Palestine, employing 81 male and 110 female missionary labourers. They employ 581 native teachers, preachers, and helpers; occupy 140 preaching stations; have 26 organised churches, 39 church edifices, 1693 communicants, and 6311 enrolled Protestants. 209 persons were received to the Churches during the past year (1881), of whom 130 were received to the Churches under the care of the American Presbyterian Mission.

The whole number of schools, including college, female seminaries, boys' high schools, theological schools, and common schools is 302, with a total of 14,624 pupils, of whom 7475 are male, and 7149 female pupils. Although the number of societies is apparently great for so limited a territory, yet *five* of these societies have 11,238 of the 14,624 pupils under instruction, and only *eight* of them report having organised churches and communicants.

Sixteen of the missionary operations are purely educational, some of them having no more than thirty, forty, or fifty pupils under instruction. Eight of the educational missions are under the sole management of English ladies. Two-thirds of the nominal Protestants, and five-eighths of the communicants are in connection with the American Presbyterian Mission. Eight of the societies, comprising the great majority of the Church members and pupils, are of the different branches of the Presbyterian Church, six are Episcopal, and several non-denominational. Four only are American, the rest being British and German. The Friends (English and American) have ten schools, with 300 pupils in Mount Lebanon, besides schools in Palestine.

The medical missionary agencies number twelve, with fifteen physicians, and twenty-four nurses; and the number of indoor patients cared for in 1881 was 1805, while the out-door or polyclinical patients numbered 80,432.

These medical missions are located in Beirut, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Gaza, Antioch, and Mount Lebanon. The physicians are American, English, German, Armenian, and native Syrian. The most thoroughly equipped medical work is probably that conducted in Beirut at the "Johanniter Hospital," founded by the Order of Knights of St. John, in Berlin, in 1860, the year of the Syrian massacres. The nurses are the trained and cultivated deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, and the physicians are Drs. Van Dyck, Post, and Wortabet, of the Syrian Protestant College. Last year it received 539 indoor patients, and attended 9874 patients in the Polyclinique.

An almost incalculable amount of human misery is annually relieved by these various medical missionary institutions. Mohammedans, Druzes, Jews, Nusairiyeh, Metawileh, Maronites, Greeks, and other sects come to these missionary physicians, receive healing for the body, have their eye-sight restored, tumours removed, club-feet straightened, cross-eyes corrected, painful internal and external maladies completely cured; and after hearing the Word of God read and prayer offered by

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their benefactors, return home with grateful feelings and new ideas of the religion which prompts men and women thus freely to give of their time and strength for the relief of the stranger and the sufferer. In a land like this which is overrun and cursed with a horde of medical quacks, such skilful and conscientious treatment of disease is gratefully appreciated.

Among the facts brought out by the recent statistics, one is that in the city of Beirut, which, twenty-five years ago, had hardly a hundred children at school among all the sects, there are now 11,000 children at school in a population of 80,000. Three thousand of these children are in Protestant schools, and 8000 in the schools of other sects. The orthodox Greeks have 1473; the Maronites, 1000; the Jesuits, 1250; Papal Greeks, 400; Sisters of Charity, 1320; Mohammedans, 1570; and Jews, 315.

It is a striking fact that, of the 11,187 children at school in Beirut, 5921 are girls, and only 5468 are boys. This great advance in female education is most gratifying and hopeful for the future. When the American missionaries first came to Syria, it is doubtful whether there were twenty females out of a population of two millions who could read. In all Syria and Palestine, as stated above, there are now 7149 girls at school in Protestant boarding and day-schools, and 7475 boys, making 14,624 children in Protestant schools.

The oldest schools for girls in Syria are those founded by the American Mission; but there are now various other societies engaged in the same work with no little success. The American Female Seminary in Beirut under the care of three American ladies and a corps of native Syrian assistants, aims to give as high and complete an education as is demanded by the daughters of Syria. Of its fifty boarders, about four-fifths *pay their own board and tuition*, and the remaining fifth pay a portion of the expense. The success of this school in enforcing the paying principle is most laudable and hopeful for the future. The American Female Seminaries in Sidon and Tripoli have more than a hundred girls under instruction.

The British Syrian Schools, founded in 1860 by the late Mrs. Bowen Thompson, are now a most important factor in the work of progress. Beginning with a few widows and orphans after the massacre of 1860, the work has now grown until it comprises 17 foreign labourers, 97 teachers, 24 Bible women, 452 male pupils, and 2878 female pupils. I can testify, from an observation of more than twenty years of its schools in Beirut, and more especially the Training Institution, that the instruction is sound, thorough, and eminently Biblical and evangelical. It is now under the care of a committee in London, with the local superintendence of Mrs. A. M. Mott and her sisters, who carry out the plans and wishes of their sister, Mrs. Thompson.

The German Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth, whose praises I need not here repeat, so familiar is their admirable work in Europe and parts of America, carry on three departments of work in Beirut and Jerusalem—

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viz., the Orphan Houses in both cities, hospital nursing in both, and a boarding-school for European children in Beirut. For twenty-two years (since the massacres of 1860) they have been engaged in their self-denying work, and have accomplished vast good in this land. The Romish Sisters of Charity no longer hold the monopoly of self-denying devoted effort for the orphan and widow, the poor, diseased, and outcast. In this priest-ridden land it is refreshing to see a Protestant sisterhood, without the slavish vows of the Sisters of Charity, doing as good, if not better work, and occupying the position of Christian women in society. Multitudes in Syria and Palestine will rise up and call them blessed.

The Church Missionary Society in Palestine is doing a genuine missionary work, aiming, as are the Presbyterian missions in Syria and Egypt, at the planting and training of a self-supporting native Evangelical Church. Its working force consists of 10 male and 10 female foreign missionaries, 37 native preachers, teachers, and catechists, 4 ordained natives, 25 preaching stations, 5 churches with 214 members, average congregations of 1500, with 45 schools and 1142 pupils. Their field extends from Gaza to Carmel, and from the Mediterranean to Moab.

In the matter of self-support of the native Churches, the difficulty increases as you approach Jerusalem, and our brethren have to contend with the "pauperised" spirit, alluded to in our previous article, in its most intensified form. In this trial they need, as do all missionaries in this part of the Turkish empire, the prayers and sympathies of the Church universal. Jerusalem has not only communities of Jews, Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Muslims living on charity, but is annually afflicted with an invasion of semi-delirious fanatics and enthusiasts from western lands, who bring Christianity into contempt, and fill the hearts of all sober-minded and sincere Christian labourers with sorrow.

The Syrian Protestant College is well known to many of your readers. It was founded to lead and control the higher education of the country in the interests of a pure Christianity. From the year of its founding until now, it has grown steadily in numbers and the thoroughness of its course of instruction. In 1875 it had 76 pupils; in 1881 it had 152, and now it has about 160. It has ten foreign and five native instructors. The president is Rev. Dr. D. Bliss, for twenty-six years connected with the mission and college. With him are associated as professors Rev. Dr. Van Dyck, the translator of the Bible into the Arabic language, and author of numerous Arabic works, who is not only connected with the Syrian mission as a missionary preacher and editor, but holds the Chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and is Director of the Astronomical and Meteorological Observatory; Rev. Dr. Wortabet, Professor of Anatomy and Physiology; Rev. Dr. Post, Professor of Surgery and Botany; Rev. Dr. Lewis, Professor of Chemistry and Geology; Rev. H. Porter, Professor of Metaphysics, Logic, and History. Drs. Brystocke and W. T. Van Dyck are lecturers in the medical

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department. The three departments, academical, medical, and preparatory, are now well organised and manned, needing only further endowments and scholarships to insure the highest success in the future. The whole number of graduates since 1870 is 127, of whom 54 were from the medical department.

The question as to the bearing of the higher collegiate education upon the cause of Evangelical religion on missionary ground is sometimes raised, but where this higher education is founded upon the Bible, and the training of the youth is thoroughly a religious training, as it is in the Syrian Protestant College, there should be no room for reasonable doubt. This college was founded upon the Bible. The Bible is a textbook for all of the preparatory and academical classes. Attendance upon prayers and upon Divine service on the Lord's day is obligatory upon all, Christians, Druzes, and Mohammedans. The Gospel is taught and preached in all fidelity, and its fundamental doctrines are presented to every young man under instruction.

The college was founded to prevent the passing of the higher education of Syria and Palestine into the hands of the Jesuits, and experience has proved that it was founded not a whit too soon. The efforts now put forth by the Jesuits to seize upon this mighty lever of influence in Turkey are almost unparalleled. From the Black Sea to Suez, and from the Mediterranean to the Tigris, they are buying land, erecting buildings, opening schools, and using their well-known Jesuitical machinery for thwarting the progress of Protestant Christianity. They must be resisted by the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and that Word must be put into the hands of workmen who need not to be ashamed, who are trained in sound Christian learning, who can preach the Gospel and explain it to the rising generation of Oriental youth, who can hold their own in the new age of intellectual life and activity, and command the respect of the learned and refined, while they win the love and confidence of all. The Jesuits have already been forced to print and distribute a new translation of the whole Bible in the Arabic language; it is a good translation, and one which we sincerely hope will be widely distributed and read. They are now about to open a Medical College in opposition to that of the Syrian Protestant College. Such concessions will only help the cause of popular enlightenment, and the Syrian Protestant College will see to it, that as long as the Jesuits profess to educate Syrian youths, they shall be obliged to give them something more than the superficial course to which they have been accustomed. Let the Churches at home, interested in the future of this land, support this and similar institutions by their contributions and their prayers.

The Theological Seminary of the American Mission is about to be provided with a suitable building for the training of a native ministry for the Syrian Church. In this the Mission and the College are in entire sympathy. However important it may be to train physicians, editors,

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merchants, lawyers, and business men for Syria, we all believe that the training of a corps of native pastors and evangelists is of paramount importance. Keeping this steadily in view, in the constant intercourse between Mission and College in the course of instruction, in the counsel given to Christian young men by their instructors, and in the selection of pious youth as candidates for college bursaries or scholarships, the naturally diverting and distracting influence of a high literary training will, it is believed, be reduced to a minimum, and the ranks of the ministry be filled with the best available material in the land.

In no one department of Christian effort is there a more gratifying report for the year 1881, than in that of Bible distribution.

Rev. Dr. J. G. Bliss, agent of the American Society for Turkey, Egypt, and Greece, has kindly given me a table of the Bible work of the American and British and Foreign Bible Societies for 1881, which I here append :—

	American Bible Society.	British and Foreign Bible Society.	TOTAL.
In Armenian,	6,712	4,242	10,954
„ Turkish,	1,959	3,336	5,275
„ Greek,	10,429	17,584	28,013
„ Bulgarian,	9,789	8,714	18,503
To Jews,	1,073	2,796	3,869
„ Arabic,	12,126	4,032	16,158
„ Persians (in Turkey),	31	48	79
„ Nestorians „	17	5	22
„ Albanians „	14	723	737
„ English, French, and other European languages,	975	7,167	8,142
	43,146	49,759	91,796

When it is remembered that the great bulk of the Scriptures are *sold*, it will be seen that a work of great importance and extent has been done.

The American Bible Society aim more at the sale of the *whole* Bible or New Testament, while the British and Foreign Bible Society print and sell more copies of *single gospels* in all languages, as will appear from the following table :—

	Bibles.	Testaments.	Portions.
Sold by the American Bible Society,	6973	17,772	18,402
Sold by the British and Foreign Bible Society,	4822	12,670	31,358
	11,795	30,442	49,760

In the above tables there is no report for the American Bible Society from Marsovan, Cesarea, Aintab, Marash, and Mardin. As there are large Protestant churches and communities in these places,

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the figures will no doubt be considerably enlarged when their reports are completed.

It would have given me pleasure to speak in some detail of the work being done by the Lebanon Schools' Committee, under the care of W. Carslaw, M.D.; of the Church of Scotland's Jewish Schools in Beirut; of Miss Taylor's Muslim Girls' Training School in Beirut; of the schools of the "Society for Promoting Female Education in the East," in Shemlan, Nazareth, and Bethlehem; of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Damascus among Mohammedans, Jews, and nominal Christians; of the Reformed Presbyterian Mission in Latakiah, where a most admirable work is being done for the Pagan Nusairiyeh of the mountains, between the ancient Arvad and Antioch; as well as of the other missionary agencies at work in different parts of the land. But the limits of this paper are exhausted, and I must content myself with expressing my deep interest in all these branches of the Lord's work in the East, and the gratification we all feel in the spirit of Christian sympathy and fraternal comity manifested by the representatives of the various societies towards each other. It is one work; and nowhere do denominational lines and distinctions come so near to the vanishing point as on missionary ground. There is every reason why we should see eye to eye, and be one in co-operation and sympathy, in aims and plans, as we are one in our common faith in a common Saviour. There is every reason why the different branches of the Presbyterian Church, which are so largely represented in Syria, should see to it that their work is well sustained in the future.

BEIRUT.

HENRY H. JESSUP.

PRESBYTERIAN LONDON (1643-1648).

TO speak of Presbyterian London is to use no exaggerated language. Strange as it may sound in modern ears, it describes exactly what London became under the Long Parliament. From the meeting of the Westminster Assembly in July, 1643, and the public adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant in September of that same year, London grew intensely Presbyterian in its sympathies, although Presbyterian worship and order did not come fully into operation over the city and suburbs till August, 1646. All classes seemed under a Presbyterian spell, or frenzy, as the cavaliers reckoned it. Traditionally Puritan in temper, London struggled for and welcomed the new religious establishment. Presbyterian Puritanism may have lingered longer in Lancashire, but in London it achieved its earliest triumph and its highest renown. "All the Puritans of later days refer with pride," says Marsden ("Later Puritans," p. 109), "to London in the Civil War; and their boast is not unreasonable. No European metropolis has ever displayed a higher

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character for purity of morals, for calmness in the midst of danger, for disinterested patriotism (even if it were misled), for a universal respect for religion, united with earnestness and zeal in the discharge of all its duties." And now that time has done much to clear away the dust of party violence and prejudice, it may be that Presbyterian London will appear not unworthy of so high because so dispassionate a judgment in its favour, long maligned and ridiculed as it has been.

The London of those days had probably, in its widest extent, not more than 200,000 inhabitants—the population of a third or fourth rate provincial town at present. Its relative importance in the country was, however, not so unlike the London of to-day. Bristol, its ancient rival, had fallen into the rear, and other towns were nowhere in comparison. Though still in a sense a walled city, the main thoroughfares ran out in all directions beyond the seven famous old gateways, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Moorgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and Ludgate. The streets within were little better than narrow lanes, not without a certain picturesqueness, however, in the quaint architecture full of little nooks and corners, the closely huddled houses standing chiefly gable-wise toward the street, with projecting tiers of latticed wood-work of varying height above.

Cheapside or West Cheap was of course the great artery of the city, throbbing with an accumulated flow of traffic and bustle from the countless tributaries within sound of Bow bells. Among the public buildings of which London could boast, the churches occupied no mean place. Its crowning pride was the vast Gothic pile of Old St. Paul's, with its steeple once 500 feet in height (though at this time reduced by an accident), and its great centre aisle, "Duke Humphrey's Walk," strangely enough an open thoroughfare and noted public lounge or sheltered rendezvous.

Lincoln's Inn Fields seem to have been the limit of building operations in the Old-bourne or Holborn direction. Fleet Street was already occupied, but the Strand, where the famous Maypole stood, was the free and open enough aristocratic quarter, with its great mansions toward the river. The city of Westminster would have been more aloof from her big sister but for the convenient water-way to which the Londoners were always partial. What were Hackney, Stepney, Islington, and even Charing Cross, and the like, but so many encircling villages more or less remote? And several boroughs, then distinct and separate enough, now occupy wonderfully central places in the ever-widening wilderness of brick.

When the Civil War broke out, London with its suburbs provided, in train bands and auxiliaries, under Philip Skippon as their major-general on the Parliamentary side, a force of not fewer than 18,000 men, arranged in half-a-dozen regiments called the Red, White, Yellow, Orange, Blue, and Green.* London had often shown itself a true and

* The students of the Inns of Court, and other young men of education and social rank, formed themselves into a life-guard for the General-in-Chief, the Earl of Essex;

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trusty bulwark against tyranny and misgovernment, but never more than in this great crisis. The poor infatuated king cherished no goodwill to his capital. It had sheltered the "Five Members," and baulked him of his vengeance. In many other ways it had offered successful resistance to his insidious measures, and proved too much for him. An early episode in the war repeated his experience. Having had the decided advantage in the opening campaign, he thought to move at once on London, and carry it by a *coup de main*. The city showed a bold front, and indignant at the king's treachery in stealing a march on them while he was feigning to make a treaty, all London flew to arms as they heard the boom of his cannon in taking Brentford, and compelled him to retire by sending out 24,000 men, in November, 1642, on the redoubtable march to Turnham Green, to support Lord Essex.

An earlier episode, two years before this, just when the Long Parliament had met, sufficed to reveal how London was likely to go on the Church reform question. This was the extremely cordial reception of the Scotch Treaty Commissioners, more especially of their clerical attendants, Henderson, Baillie, Blair, and Gillespie. The corporation insisted on having them as their own special guests, making over to them one of the civic mansions, Worcester House, and the ancient church of St. Antholins, that adjoined it. To hear their sermons "there was so great a conflux and resort," says Clarendon, . . . "that from the first appearing of day in the morning of every Sunday to the shutting of the light, the church was never empty." There was then established that cordial relation between them and the London Puritan clergy which produced ere long such striking results.

Some great ecclesiastical change was evidently impending. The polling-booths, the pamphleteering, the popular cries, the proceedings in Parliament—everything betokened this. Wise and moderate men everywhere recognised its necessity. The Commons had not sat for three days before they resolved themselves into a committee of religion. For Pym had long ago expressed the universal sentiment of his time: "It belongeth to the duty of a Parliament to establish true religion and to punish false." Under this conviction, and in accordance with the religious clauses of "The Grand Remonstrance," committees were appointed to remove abuses or redress grievances; and measures were taken for calling a "General Synod" to mature a scheme of Church reform.

Four committees were set to work, the most famous being that "for scandalous ministers," whose chairman, John White, member for Southwark, issued, by authority of Parliament, in November, 1643, that curious volume, "The First Century of Scandalous and Malignant Ministers." It gave the results of the inquiry into the morals of these hundred ejected clergy as a sample of the reasons for ousting great and from this corps sprang afterwards many of the famous soldier-lawyers, like Ireton, Ludlow, Fleetwood, and Harrison, of the Commonwealth times.

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numbers from their benefices. Not a little suffering and injustice occurred as the process went forward; but by reserving a fifth of the income for those dispossessed, their hardships were materially mitigated. As a temporary arrangement for *ordaining* suitable ministers, a large central committee of London clergy with Presbyterian leanings was appointed. On 24th August, 1643, the Lords and Commons ordained "the removal of all ornaments of superstitious idolatry." This ordinance has been often thought sweeping enough; and yet, save as regards copes, fonts, and organs (at that time too costly for very general use), it only enforces the old "injunctions" of Queen Elizabeth and the Church canons. It was, moreover, accompanied with an express caution against destroying or defacing works of art with which no superstition was connected. Had this been kept in mind, we should have heard less of Presbyterian barbarism, even though the people, and especially the army, may afterwards have paid little heed to the restriction.

The Act dissolving Prelacy in the Church (passed 10th September, 1642) was to come into force on 5th November of this eventful 1643. Something behoved to be done to supply the place of the abolished hierarchy. As early as 19th April, 1642, the Commons agreed that the knights of the shire should nominate two divines for each county (subject to approval and addition by the House), to be a consulting body under Parliament, and to suggest a plan of Church order and discipline. A provisional list of clergy and lay members was speedily adopted, and an executive committee appointed to carry out arrangements. Three times over, in the course of 1642, did both Lords and Commons pass a Bill to constitute the proposed great ecclesiastical congress, but as the king would not assent, and the war had now begun, the Houses on 12th June, 1643, issued their ordinance appointing it to meet on 1st July. From that date till the 22nd February, 1648-49 (the year did not then close till 25th March, and hence the need for mentioning both years in any date between 1st January and 25th March) the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY continued to exert a powerful influence on the country as well as in London, being for the next five and a-half years in constant communication with both Houses of Parliament, and meeting close beside them. For a time they held their sittings in Henry VII.'s Chapel, but as winter approached they found more comfortable quarters in the Jerusalem Chamber.

The opening scene in the Abbey was solemn and impressive, but the crowning event of 1643—that which committed England to Presbyterianism, so far as it could be committed in a state of civil war—was enacted on the 15th September within St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. Standing then, as now, between Westminster Hall and the Abbey, there poured into it the members of Assembly from one side on that eventful morning, and the members of Parliament from the other—the House of Commons being in those days St. Stephen's Chapel,

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"a long narrow building of the fourteenth century, in a rich ecclesiastical style, at right angles to Westminster Hall, with its entrance at the west end where it adjoined the Hall, and a large window at the other." The House of Lords stood at the south end of the Hall. In the midst of Divine worship, and after Nye and Henderson had addressed the audience, "THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT" was slowly read aloud, and the whole body of representatives in Church and State stood up, and with their right hands raised toward heaven, took an oath to receive and stand by this Covenant.

A similar solemnity was witnessed some weeks later among the Lords, or such of them as continued in attendance; about 30 out of 124 lay peers having chosen the Parliamentary side. [The spiritual peerage was at an end on 13th February, 1641-42, when the Bishops Exclusion Bill obtained the royal assent.] The Covenant was signed on the spot by 220 members of the Commons (some names of absentees being afterwards added), while the Assembly subscribed on a separate parchment. This was a large proportion of the House of Commons, for, while nominally comprising 500 members (91 for counties, 4 for the universities, 405 for boroughs, London having *four* representatives), it had been reduced by deaths and withdrawals to less than 300, and only a third of these in effective attendance.

To appreciate the significance of what was then done, we must be careful not to confound the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scotch National Covenant of five years previous. English jealousy and partizan feeling have been too willing to let it be thought a mere Scottish document, and to forget that it was a mutual civil treaty as well as a religious bond. Prepared no doubt by Henderson, and suggested by Scotland, it was none the less revised and adjusted by the English Parliament, and freely adopted as an international League. How Cromwell and many others who signed it came to deal with its six articles afterwards, will always suggest some painful reflections. Meanwhile the League bound the English Parliament to aim at a Presbyterian form of government in their Church Establishment; it created a Presbyterian political party, and put it in the ascendant. While it brought 20,000 Scottish troops across the border on the Parliamentary side to checkmate Charles's appeal to Ireland for help, it also brought a body of Scotch commissioners into the Westminster Assembly—four ministers and two lay assessors. There had been summoned to the Assembly at first 119 Divines, with ten Peers and twenty members of the House of Commons. Many alterations afterwards took place, as the Episcopal members withdrew when the King issued from Oxford his denunciatory proclamation, and other names were added from time to time. The four representatives for London were Edmund Calamy, Joseph Caryl, Lazarus Seaman, and George Walker. Many more London divines were of course in the Assembly representing other places. Thus Jean de la Marche and Samuel de la Place, ministers of the London French Pro-

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testant Church, sat for Jersey and Guernsey. So it was with a number of the leading Presbyterian preachers; and never had London a brighter pulpit galaxy.

Dr. Edmund Calamy, a great name in our annals, and worthily borne through *three* successive generations by son and grandson, kept up for twenty years a crowded week-day lecture at his church in Aldermanbury. Joseph Caryl, with "Book of Job" fame (who afterwards, like Owen and many others, glided into a modified Independency), was preacher at Lincoln's Inn; Seaman was minister of All Hallows, Bread Street; and Walker, rector of St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street. Let us mention a few more of these pulpit worthies. The venerable Simeon Ashe was at St. Bride's; the no less venerated Dr. Gouge at Blackfriars; "Patriarch" White, one of the assessors to Dr. Twisse, was rector of Lambeth, and Dr. Cornelius Burgess, the other assessor, a notable Assembly figure who had been chaplain to Charles I., was rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge. The diminutive but powerful Herbert Palmer preached at Duke's Place, Aldgate (where Dr. Thomas Young succeeded him), and afterwards in a new Westminster church, where the members of both Houses largely attended. Henry Wilkinson ("Long Harry," to distinguish him from two contemporary namesakes) was at St. Faith's and St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. Christopher Love, whose martyrdom as a Presbyterian "Covenanter" on Tower Hill was to shake Cromwell's power in London, was minister of St. Anne's, Aldersgate. His friend Manton, who attended him at every risk to the scaffold, was a leading preacher at this time—a man of great weight and power (though not a member of Assembly) in later Presbyterian counsels—rector of Newington, afterwards of Covent Garden. At Rotherhithe was the learned Gataker, who, with "Rabbi" Coleman, of St. Peter's, Cornhill, was not averse to Episcopacy; while Dr. Thomas Goodwin of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, with Jeremiah Burroughs, the "morning star of Stepney," and William Greenhill, the "evening star" there, maintained the honour of Independency in pulpit and Assembly. Without referring to others of the Presbyterian divines then in London, we must not omit the learned Jeremiah Whitaker, rector of Bermondsey, or Richard Vines of St. Lawrence, Jewry, able alike as debaters and preachers; the latter, according to Fuller, being called by his brethren "their Luther." But the greatest preacher of his time was unquestionably Stephen Marshall, lecturer at St. Margaret's, who had been the first of the redoubtable "Smeectymnuans," with Calamy as the second. Marshall's eloquence was lofty and fervid. His influence with Parliament was remarkable. What a masterpiece his touching and impressive funeral sermon for Pym! But, alas, for the spirit of ignoble vindictiveness! Pym and Marshall were both entombed with honour in the Abbey,—their graves were rifled and their bodies desecrated, along with others, at the Restoration!

But to return to the Covenant. Parliament and Assembly, having

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themselves received it, resolved to impose and enforce it at large, a step resisted by Baxter and others of the less ultra party. The process evoked as it proceeded much private bitterness and resentment, and produced, or at least aggravated, divisions destined never to be healed. London, however, took the matter up with enthusiasm and held firmly to it, though not supported by any strong or general feeling in the country. For the Covenant appeared in England the shibboleth of a party and its triumph, not as in Scotland, the act of a whole nation of patriots and confessors. It were long to tell the story of the next three years' controversies, focalised in London, and raging alike in Parliament, Assembly, and the press. London became in measure like Paris at the outset of the great Revolution—a buzz of excitement and animation in the midst of a whirl of pamphlet, and debate, and sermon, according as the tide of war ebbed or flowed. The little rift in the Assembly between the main body on the one hand, and the two smaller sections of Independents or "Dissenting Brethren," and the Erastians on the other, grew wider as the Church government debate advanced. At last a draught constitution on a Presbyterian basis being voted, the five Independent members presented to Parliament their "Apologetic Narration," which led to a host of pamphlets, the chief Presbyterian ones being by Samuel Rutherford, Prynne, and the vigorous and racy "Antapologia" of Thomas Edwards, minister of Christ Church, London. Through 1644 the discussion went forward, pamphlets thickened, and sects and sectaries grew apace. But on the Church government question, the main body favourable to Presbytery triumphed, carrying Parliament with them, and having London strongly at their back.

Thus, in 1645, just after the Uxbridge treaty with the king missed fire, and when both Houses had ratified (in January) the essential parts of the Presbyterian framework, we get to the very heart of the effort to Presbyterianise London. Among conclusions which the Parliament arrived at in May, such as that each parish have a session, that classes or presbyteries meet monthly, provincial synods half-yearly (sixty of these, usually coterminous with the counties, being mapped out) and the National Assembly, made up of three ministers and two elders from each of the sixty synods, or 300 members in all, annually; it was resolved to make LONDON a PROVINCIAL SYNOD with FOURTEEN PRESBYTERIES over about 130 parishes in a compass of ten miles. In July the Commons agreed that ruling elders be chosen by the ministers and all Church members who were of age and had taken the Covenant; and two days later they appointed forty-seven of themselves a committee to superintend an election in London. In September the committee submitted the names of those who should be *triers* of the qualifications of the elders and the validity of their election. In each London presbytery there were nine triers (three ministers and six laymen), and the Lord Mayor was requested (8th October) to intimate that the elections at once proceed. On 5th December it was resolved that the

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legal bodies, and all connected with the Rolls Chapel, the four Inns of Court and the Serjeants' Inns, be associated together in a presbytery divided into two sections. So far, all had progressed smoothly between the main body of the Assembly and Parliament. A violent hitch now occurred which delayed the execution of these arrangements a little. When the Lords and Commons had passed their final all-conclusive Ordinance for Presbytery, 14th March, 1645-46, they insisted in Article XIV. on appeals in each province from the synod to the civil court or a tribunal of legal commissioners. London was roused at this, and the Assembly remonstrated against such gross Erastianism. On presenting their petition to Parliament, they were threatened with "præmunire" for a violation of privilege. This question of spiritual independence was debated for months, and at last, in the midst of critical public events (the king had fled to the Scottish army, 5th May, 1646), a compromise was come to in June, chiefly through Argyll's commission to London. Presbyterian worship had been introduced sometime before on the basis of the Assembly "Directory," and now the whole machinery of its Church order was coming into operation in London during the months of July and August, 1646, when the organisation might be considered complete. The FIRST provincial synod met on Monday, 3rd May, 1647 in the Convocation House of St. Paul's, and afterwards twice a-week in Sion College, with Dr. Gouge as moderator. This old building, SION COLLEGE, in London Wall, at this time provided with a library and other conveniences expressly for ministerial use, an anticipation of the modern club, played an important part in Presbyterian London as the great rendezvous for discussing Church questions and taking common action at any critical turning-point. The SECOND synod met there on 8th November, Dr. Lazarus Seaman, moderator; and also the THIRD, in May, 1648.

Hardly, however, was Presbyterianism with difficulty thus set agoing, than it may be said to have begun to end. The scheme, so popular in London, was acceptable nowhere else save Lancashire, and the king had rejected it by proclamation. Strange and untoward things were happening meantime; and we have specially to note the three main causes of its arrest. These were, its own high demands for itself, the rapid spread and growing influence of Independency with innumerable other sects, and the violent quarrel between Parliament and Cromwell's victorious army.

Though a Presbyterian Church-order and discipline had been agreed to, there remained the more serious question of *Toleration*, or whether any dissent, or how much, should be allowed outside the proposed Established Church. The idea of absolute liberty of conscience and unlimited toleration may possibly have dawned on some individual minds in England, but was nowhere entertained by any party as yet. Independents pleaded for a certain limited liberty of conscience for themselves, and a toleration for their own principles of action, and those of some other *orthodox Christian* sects outside the pale of the new National Church.

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OPPOSITION TO A PRESBYTERIAN ESTABLISHMENT. 19

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The Presbyterian idea was this : Let rulers determine on a Scriptural standard of religious truth and ecclesiastical polity. That is the duty and business of Christian rulers, as we are all agreed. Make provision, as far as Scripture allows, for *accommodating* tender Christian consciences *within* the Church's pale. But if there is to be a *National Christian Church* at all, the whole nation should be included in it, and must conform to the one National Establishment, and be amenable to its spiritual discipline. TOLERATION for orthodox dissent was the rallying cry of the Independents and Sectaries. ACCOMMODATION for Christian tender consciences *inside* the Church, was the Presbyterian watchword. Thus we find it expressed in the close of a letter to the Assembly by all the London ministers, from Sion College, 18th December, 1645:—"These are some of the many considerations which make a deep impression upon our spirits against that great Diana of Independents, and all the sectaries, so much cried up by them in these distracted times, namely *A Toleration, A Toleration*. And however none should have been more rejoiced than ourselves in the establishment of a brotherly, peaceable, and Christian *Accommodation* ; yet, this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot dissemble how, upon the forementioned grounds, we detest and abhor the much endeavoured *Toleration*."

The triumph of this strictly logical theory of a National Established Church was dearly bought. It arrayed against Presbytery all who felt they might come under its coercive policy, and especially roused the spirit of divisiveness and sectarianism which had begun to run riot, and which it was designed to curb. What an array of sects the civil commotions had let loose—Antinomians, Antiscripturists, Anti-Trinitarians, Familists, Seekers, Miltonites or Divorcers, Traskites, Soul-sleepers, Mortalists, and the like ! Thomas Edwards, in his extraordinary three-fold publication, "*Gangræna*," has no difficulty in tabulating 176 "heresies, errors, and blasphemies." Of John Lilburne the busy pamphleteer, it was wittily said, "if he were left alone by himself in the world, John would then quarrel with Lilburne and Lilburne with John." He was a type of multitudes. Cromwell and the army became the chief centre of all this, with constant echoes of it from the London printing-shops. Presbyters, Assembly divines, and the Scots, were to them priest-biters, dissembly-men, dry-vines, and sots. For the vanity of the army was piqued at their Scotch allies, and national pride was wounded at seeming to follow a Northern guidance ! To this patriotic susceptibility Milton, in his bitter disappointment and vindictiveness, gave voice. He had himself taken the Covenant ("That which I saw and was partaker of, your vows and solemn covenants," he says to Parliament in dedicating his "*Tetrachordon*"), and had hoped much from it at the outset. A largely tolerant Presbyterianism, what might it not have done for England at this crisis ! But he has lost all hope from it, with a high-flying and coercive policy. How vehemently he attacks, in his celebrated ode, "*The Forcers of Conscience*," and

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assails the Assembly and all concerned, in many a diatribe, "with resounding periods of magnificent abuse."

But London resolved to stand by the *jus divinum* of Presbytery, and even "try a fall" for it with the army itself—with Cromwell's redoubtable "new model," which had just finished the war and brought the king to bay. London had looked askance at this "new model" (*new noddle*, they called it), and at Cromwell's paroxysm of rage with Lord Manchester and the other Presbyterian officers, whereby he had cunningly outwitted them in the Self-denying Ordinance and got all things his own way. And now that this victorious army, with its Naseby laurels on its brow and the king in its hands, had set Parliament at defiance and had impeached the eleven Presbyterian leaders (who had moved for its disbandment), London rose in tumult, and swarmed to Westminster to have the affront resented. A vast popular association had been formed under the name of "A solemn engagement of the citizens, officers, and soldiers of the trained bands and auxiliaries," &c., to uphold the Covenant, confirm the Presbyterian government, and further a direct treaty between King and Parliament, *without interference from the army*; and petitions for these ends, signed by tens of thousands, were presented to the Houses. A fast was kept; the fortifications were repaired; the walls manned with pikemen; and the Bridge and other entrances guarded with cannon. Then was felt the want of fit and able leaders that were now no more. The city had to surrender, and the army was master of Presbyterian London. We need not rehearse what negotiations followed, nor the short, sharp campaign with the yet loyal Presbyterians in the SECOND CIVIL WAR; nor the consternation of the citizens at the result; nor how London came a *second time* into the grasp of the army; nor the drastic military measure of Pride's purge, 6th December, 1648, which forcibly cleared the House of about 200 Presbyterian members, leaving the RUMP, with its 50 Independents, to resolve, as the army dictated, on the king's death. The last united voice of the London Synod was heard twelve days before the execution, in a bold but becoming protest and remonstrance, "A serious and faithful representation of the judgment of the ministers of the Gospel *within the province of London*, in a letter to the general and his council of war." But Presbyterian London, now in the grip of an iron hand, was powerful no more. Numerous as were its congregations and adherents, its palmy days were gone. It needed better leaders than Denzil Hollis or Sir Philip Stapleton to disentangle it from the meshes of a military despotism. The Presbyterians were no revolutionary party. The king's death they condemned as a gigantic blunder and crime. Their leaders, alike in Lords and Commons, had been men of moderate counsels politically. They sought constitutional reform in Church and State, but were defeated by royal duplicity and democratic violence. Their quarrel was not against the crown, but against its slavish maxims and malpractices. This was the temper of Presbyterian London from the beginning to the end.

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In this spirit it had thrown itself shudderingly yet without any misgiving into the war, when women yielded their jewellery and wedding-rings to what they deemed a sacred cause, and the citizens contributed their money and plate without stint. They did it religiously and without vindictiveness, as for the public weal. "Their sincerity," says Marsden, "is not now to be impeached. We dismiss at once the sweeping charge of hypocrisy with which popular historians have so long amused us, and we dismiss it with contempt." The final Wednesday of every month was a day of humiliation in the city—the well-known *Monthly Fast*. This may have been used afterwards as a political device on both sides—for the king proclaimed a something similar, and it was often had recourse to under the Commonwealth—but in Presbyterian London it was a solemnising institution not unsuited to a time of national danger and distress—the value of the food saved thereby being added to the public exchequer. Much was done to subdue the exasperation of civil war and alleviate suffering—the forbearance and restraint thus exercised contrasting very favourably with the rancorous hate and vengeance of Restoration times. Theological and ecclesiastical discussions no doubt ran high and became bitter enough in a few years, but the Presbyterian clergy excelled in schooling their hearers into Christian virtue and high morality.* Drunkenness and debauchery were repressed by law. Order and sobriety everywhere prevailed. The baser public spectacles and buffooneries were prohibited, as, if not in themselves sinful, for the present inexpedient, and the depraved and depraving theatre was closed. Readers of Charles Kingsley's "Plays and Puritans" will remember his thorough-going and effective vindication of the Puritans on this score, as well as in their grave, quiet manners and simplicity of attire, in which the nation has happily swung round to their point of view. No doubt the Presbyterian ministers were better divines than Church and State physicians, but it were an anachronism to attribute to them many of the later Puritan foibles. They had their own shortcomings, and much they did lent itself easily to a burlesque like "Hudibras." But caricature is not serious history. The subject has its higher side, beyond the shafts of ribald mirth or partizan calumny. For lofty religious aims and ideals, for patriotic self-denial and public spirit, for pulpit power and eloquence, for literary activity, for educational effort, (two new universities for London and Durham were attempted by Parliament, though the project never ripened), for the prevalence and encouragement of sacred learning, and for the manifestation of great moral energy, we may fearlessly point to the days of old PRESBYTERIAN LONDON.

A. H. DRYSDALE.

* We need not say how the Sabbath was observed and regulated. There was a profound cessation of worldly business. The cries of the street vendor were hushed. Milk could not be sold after nine o'clock in the morning. And under the gravity of patriotic feeling as well as of earnest faith, the churches were crowded and the people were enjoined to fill up the day with quiet family converse and personal devotion.

JOHN DURY AND HIS WORK FOR GERMANY.

ON the 26th of September, 1680, at Cassel, the old capital of the Hessian landgraves, a Scotchman finished his long earthly career, one who is well worthy of being kept in remembrance, not only by his own countrymen, but also by the German nation, and especially by the Protestant Church in Germany. He did not, it is true, succeed in what he had been aiming at for more than fifty years; and though we may not approve of all the means he employed to effect his purpose, still the object of his labours was such that his devotion to it deserves highest esteem, while his motives were of the purest kind.

The man was JOHN DURY, or as we would call him in Germany, JOHANNES DURAEUS, whom Benzelius, or rather Mosheim, the renowned theologian of Göttingen, in his commentary on Dury's proceedings in Sweden, characterises under the honourable name of "the most celebrated peacemaker." He was worthy of being thus valued; for his great life-purpose was to make peace between the two Protestant parties in Germany, and to heal that disastrous breach which took place after the days of Luther.

Dire, indeed, were the consequences of all those disputes concerning the meaning of the bread and wine at the Lord's table, which Luther commenced with Zwingli, the conscientious reformer of Switzerland. All the attempts to reconcile the excited minds of the opponents of the Reformed doctrine made by Philip the Magnanimous, landgrave of Hesse, by the true-hearted Martin Bucer of Strassburg, and afterwards even by Melanchthon himself, as well as by the greater number of the German princes, had utterly failed. The supporters of consubstantiation, following the great Saxon reformer, deemed it sacrilege to acknowledge the adherents of Zwingli or Calvin as Christian brethren, entrenching themselves behind that fatal sentence of Luther's, uttered at the conference of Marburg in 1529, "You have another kind of spirit." Thus their efforts were as vain as those of Queen Elizabeth and the princes of Anhalt, who admonished the disputants not to separate those who, in regard to the leading principles of true religion, were in close communion. The "rabies theologorum," as Melanchthon called it, and the obstinacy of the older line of Saxon princes, who were irritated at the loss of the greater portion of their dominions in the Smalcaldian war of 1547, gradually prevailed over the better judgment of those who were aware of the damage the Evangelical Church would suffer by the impending separation.

At last the Lutherans, as they called themselves from that time, wrote to their opponents a plain letter of excommunication, the "Formula Concordiæ," which was obtruded with the utmost violence in

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those territories where its authors were powerful enough to do so, and from that day there were two Evangelical Churches in Germany, completely divided the one from the other. The adherents of the "Concordia book" hated the "Reformed Church" and her followers as fervently as they ever could hate the Papists. To fight with the "Sacramentarians" was regarded as their principal duty, and as the best sign of true Christian faith.

But these proceedings, in which the fathers of the "Concordia" exulted so much, had really no other effect than to break the power of the Evangelical Church in Germany; and when we see that in later times the Propaganda of the Jesuits gained more and more upon the Protestants, so that one territory of Germany after another became subject to the Pope,—for instance, the bishoprics of Paderborn and of Cologne, the Eichsfeld, Donauwörth, and at last Bohemia, Silesia, and other Austrian dominions,—there is no doubt that the crafty partisans of the Bishop of Rome succeeded chiefly through the discord of the Protestants. Filled with compassion for the sufferings which the German nation had to endure throughout the Thirty Years' War, and which he, himself a refugee proscribed by the fanaticism of James I., saw before his own eyes, Dury was persuaded that all this pernicious mischief was principally caused by the discord which divided the Evangelical party. He felt sure that the remedy for all the evils then suffered by the Church of the Reformation in Germany could only be found in the healing of that wound which had been inflicted by imposing the "Concordia." He regarded this persuasion as a vocation from the Lord himself, and never ceased till the last days of his life to devote himself to the accomplishment of his purpose.

John Dury was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1595 or 1596. His father was a distinguished clergyman,* a follower of the Presbyterian party which felt compelled by conscience to oppose James I. when that king attempted to re-establish Episcopacy in Scotland. Hence, in common with many others of his brethren, he had to leave his native country, and found a refuge at Leyden, where he became the minister of a small congregation of Scotch and English refugees. In this way his son also came to the Continent and to the same city where not long before the Dutch had established a university which had speedily become renowned, and still flourishes. Here, we must suppose, young Dury finished his education, after having studied in his native country, chiefly at Edinburgh.† Later, in 1628, we meet him at Elbing, an

* Robert Dury (minister at Anstruther from 1592 till his banishment in 1606), whose sister Elizabeth became the wife of James Melville. His grandfather was the famous John Dury, minister at Edinburgh from 1573 to 1583, who, for denouncing the conduct of the Duke of Lennox and others, was banished from the city and prohibited from exercising his ministry, but was shortly afterwards allowed to return, when the people came in crowds to welcome him, singing the 124th Psalm.

† He also studied for a time at Sedan, under his relative Andrew Melville. (See "McCrie's Life of Melville," chap. x. and Appendix X).

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emporium in West Prussia, where English and Scotch fugitives also sought a shelter, and where he acted as their minister. Here he first took up the task to which, from that day throughout his whole life, he consecrated all his strength and thoughts.

Religious and ecclesiastical affairs formed at that time the chief points in all kinds of transactions,—not that the principal actors in the bloody tragedies, which then filled the page of history, pursued any other interests than those of their eternal welfare. But, on the one hand, the thirst for the enormous riches accumulated by the Church during many centuries, and on the other, the persuasion that worldly power could have no better foundation than “the altar,” were certainly not the least powerful motives of the leaders in all the perilous quarrels of the age. Nevertheless religion was the great question of the time, and occupied the minds of every one—kings and princes, as well as burghers and peasants. Why then should one, placed in the condition of the young Scotchman, not take part in that which agitated the whole world, all the more because he met at Elbing a man who took the highest interest in those affairs, especially in that dreadful feud which divided and weakened the Church of the Reformation?

Elbing had fallen into the hands of the celebrated Swedish hero, Gustavus Adolphus, while making war upon the King of Poland, and the conqueror had established there his own system of administration, including a court of appeal, a member of which was Mr. Godeman, a learned man, and a true disciple of Jesus Christ. This man, together with his friend, the Councillor Mylius, had often and earnestly considered the threatening condition of Church affairs, and the possibility of improving them. Just at that time the pillar of Protestantism in Germany, Frederick V., the Elector Palatine and elected King of Bohemia, having been defeated at the battle of the White Mountain, near Prague, and forced to flee, the power of the Palatinate was shaken to its foundations. Count Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswick, and the King of Denmark, who in the first years of the great war had maintained the standard of the Evangelical party, were swept away by the irresistible force of the league, and of the emperor's general, Wallenstein. All the other Protestant powers in Germany were either discouraged, or, like the Elector of Saxony, vacillating, nay, even perfidious; whilst, on the other hand, the upholders of the united Popish and Imperial interests were everywhere victorious. Wallenstein advanced to the shores of the Baltic, master of Mecklenburg, and besieged Stralsund, the last German fortress in the north. Indeed, there was every appearance that the last day of the Evangelical Church was at hand. Was it not quite natural, therefore, that those who had sincerely embraced the Protestant creed should consider what could be done to produce a change? Mr. Godeman had drawn up a memorial in which he endeavoured to show how the pernicious discord might be settled, proving that the doctrinal differences between the Evangelical parties were not of such importance as to

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warrant this implacable hatred against each other; and that, on the contrary, their circumstances rather demanded, with the utmost urgency, that they should closely combine against the common foe, who had already gained so much upon them.

To this man our Scotch minister was not only introduced, but he became quite intimate with him. How could the chief subject of their conversation be anything but the question which moved the heart of the Swedish councillor, as well as the whole Christian world? Young Dury soon took a great interest in what he learned from Mr. Godeman about the perilous situation of Protestantism on the Continent. Quick of apprehension, as well as steady and constant in all he conceived right and necessary, he became at last entirely absorbed with the idea of effecting a reconciliation between the Reformed Church and the Lutherans.

Many circumstances, even at that moment, seemed to favour his purpose. Councillor Godeman, who had close connections with the Court of Stockholm, assured him that Gustavus Adolphus, as well as his chancellor, Oxenstierna, were favourable to the plan, and would help to promote it. The English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who came to Elbing in 1630, not only took a great interest in the matter, but promised his protection, and a recommendation to the King of Sweden as well as to the English authorities. With regard to the Evangelical powers in Germany itself, it appeared that there would be a readiness to accept the proposals of young Dury. Many of them keenly felt the necessity of laying aside the controversies which had divided them so long and so fatally. Those especially who had not subscribed to the "Formula Concordiæ" were earnestly considering the means of reconciliation; among these were the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and the Landgrave of Hesse; even the authorities of Saxony, though sternly adhering to Lutheranism, did not thoroughly repudiate this project. In the year 1631 these princes met at Leipzig, accompanied by their chief clergymen, in order to deliberate on a proposed basis of agreement between the two Evangelical parties. Besides the chaplains of the Elector of Brandenburg and of the Hessian Landgrave, there was the chief clergyman of Saxony, the ever-quarrelsome Hoe von Hoenegg, who, however, proved himself a man of "wonderful gentleness" on this occasion, when he cautiously advised them not to begin by putting an obstacle in the way of the peacemakers. This lenity, of course, gave no little offence to the Concordists, who for many a day would not forgive their Dresden comrade for this unusual mildness towards the "Sacramentarians." But though the good intentions of the conference at Leipzig were soon shown to be impracticable, owing to the implacability of the genuine Lutheran party, yet the colloquy, as well as the fact that the bigoted Hoe prevailed with himself so far as to take part in it, evidently proved that a desire for peace was deeply felt on both sides.

Sir Thomas Roe's advice, however, was that John Dury, before begin-

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ning his work in Germany, should go to England, in order to confer with the bishops there about the matter. By gaining over the leaders of the English Church to his views, he would, the ambassador said, lay a firm foundation for his work, and Sir Thomas himself furnished him with letters of recommendation to the superior clergy of his country. But in England the young Scotchman soon discovered that implacable dispositions regarding religious and ecclesiastical affairs were displayed in other places besides the Continent. Dury being a Presbyterian, can we wonder that the prelates of the English Episcopal Church did not show themselves very ready to accept the proposals of a man who belonged to a party which they opposed with the same fervour as the Lutherans showed against the Reformed Church? He therefore soon found himself disappointed, and the representatives of the Church of England, as well as the king, did not make him such advances as he had hoped for. On the contrary, though it was evident that the interests of the king's brother-in-law, the unfortunate Elector Palatine, were involved in the project of the Scotchman, he met with great coolness, even at the court of Whitehall. But he gained over to his views some of the Episcopalian clergy, including three bishops and twenty doctors of divinity, and even the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot. These drew up and signed a document, in which they approved and recommended the project as a very good one; but this was all he could obtain. The greater part of the clergy did not agree; they even refused to give any support; and what help could Dury have from Abbot and the others who approved his intentions? Abbot at that time had already quite lost the favour of King Charles I., and subscribers like the mild-hearted John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, were not among those who had influence at court and with the real authorities of England. Besides, the fact that some Presbyterian clergymen had signed the document was not of such a kind as to gain the favour of the king and the strict Episcopalian who then ruled the monarch. Hence, too, it was in vain that Sir Thomas Roe, on his return to England, endeavoured to make the king and his friends favourable to the plan: an Episcopalian could not afford assistance to a Presbyterian in anything the latter might undertake for the welfare of the Christian Church.

Notwithstanding all these discouragements, Dury was not dispirited. Just then, he received letters from Councillor Godeman, informing him of the results of the colloquy at Leipzig, which seemed to be as advantageous to his purpose as possible. He was told that they had agreed on terms most favourable to the peace they contemplated, and that even the Right Reverend Hoe von Hoenegg had accepted them. Moreover, the chief chaplain of the Elector of Brandenburg, John Bergius, one of the collocutors at Leipzig, to whom Dury wrote immediately, was full of good hopes, and persuaded the young Scotchman that there was now found a sure way of reconciliation. Gustavus

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Adolphus, too, whose peaceable disposition towards the adherents of the Reformed doctrine Mr. Godeman praised so much, stood with his army in the centre of Germany, after having gained a decisive victory over Tilly in the bloody battle near Leipzig, and another at Breitenfeld. Dury, therefore, taking the letters of recommendation which he had received from Archbishop Abbot and his friends, returned to the Continent, resolved to stand up for what he called his vocation. It cannot be denied that he now deceived himself, as well as others, by imagining that this was an authoritative document given to him by the Church of England, and by calling himself accordingly a delegate of that Church.

He made his first attempt upon the King of Sweden. A letter of introduction which he had from Sir Thomas Roe, cleared the way to the king, and procured him a reception well calculated to raise his spirits. Gustavus Adolphus, as well as his chancellor, was too clever a politician not to understand what advantage would accrue to Protestantism in Germany, if the project of the Scotchman could be realised. Nevertheless, they did not ignore the great difficulties in the way, nor were they less aware of the damage that the political interests of Sweden would probably suffer by a real and mighty union among all the Protestant powers in Germany. The king, indeed, showed himself very kind to the peacemaker, to whom he listened for more than two hours; and Dury himself tells us that the monarch asked what he could do to promote these projects, of which he wholly approved. Notwithstanding all this kindness, Gustavus Adolphus made no promise whatever, but referred the matter to the judgment of his chaplains, Fabricius and Matthiæ; and though Dury afterwards succeeded in persuading the latter to accept his views, he got no real help. The King of Sweden, Dury assures us, promised him a letter of recommendation to the Protestant princes in Germany; but either Sadler, the king's secretary, never issued it, or the war and its results hindered this letter from being drawn up. Such a letter Dury never got from Gustavus Adolphus; and Oxenstierna positively refused it when asked for it after the death of the king, partly because he thought it proper to have some regard for Saxony, which had again become averse to all transactions with the Reformed Church, and partly because he himself did not agree with the project, for political reasons arising from the peculiar interests of the northern kingdom. What Dury gained was a friendly though cool acknowledgment of his good intentions, but nothing more. Owing to the gracious words with which he had been favoured from the mouth of the king, Dury did not fully realise that he had been refused. For that reason he did not feel discouraged, but after having left the headquarters of Gustavus Adolphus, addressed himself to the Protestant powers of Germany. He travelled through Hesse and the Wetterau, in order to gain friends for his cause; and wrote to the Evangelical princes and universities, endeavouring especially to make his plan acceptable to those in whose hands the affairs of the Protestant Church were at

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that time. There were two special memoranda added to his letters, the one explaining in general the means which, in his opinion, were to be employed in order to reunite the Protestants; and the other, setting in a more ample light the way he thought most fitted to secure success; both were characteristic of the man, and instructive as regards his scheme.

The discord, he stated, between the two Evangelical parties had two principal causes: first, doctrinal differences, produced for the most part by the passion and unbridled zeal of those engaged in religious controversy; and, second, the multiplicity of outward forms, ceremonies, and observances upon which too much stress was laid. The object of all endeavours, therefore, must be to produce unity in doctrine, love in their hearts and uniformity in their ceremonies; while arrangements should be entrusted to such mediators as would guarantee a good result to theologians, on the one hand, who were known as peaceable men, and to politicians, on the other, whose heartfelt desire was the reconciliation of the parties. Especially, however, he expected success, if the power of arbitration were committed to foreign Evangelical Churches as disinterested judges. Further, he held it necessary to drop all subjects of controversy, and to turn to more useful things, especially labouring to understand the true purpose of the Holy Scriptures, and to inquire concerning the opinions held by the early Christians and their conformity with the Bible. Re-establishment of the practical study of theology—unfortunately altogether neglected—would be a chief point of consideration, and at the universities therefore, a professor must be installed for this purpose—a learned man who knew what real piety is, not one of those zealous and quarrelsome dogmatists who then filled the chairs of the Lutheran colleges. And as to the ministers, they were not by any means to be allowed to introduce into the services those scholastic questions which they used to discuss with zest, thinking this to be their principal duty, and a characteristic proof of their faith. On the contrary, they were to be strictly engaged in teaching what is good for edifying and for implanting love in the hearts of the hearers; and the superintendents were to be laid under an obligation to watch over the preachers in that respect, while no man was to be admitted to the office of a clergyman who had not proved himself one who knows what is the essence of practical faith. There was to be prepared a "Practical Theology," composed of sentences and passages drawn from the best works, and written in the English as well as in the German language. There was further to be established a consistory, composed partly of politicians and lawyers, partly of clergymen, with power to repress all offences by disturbers of the peace. All the schismatic names by which the different parties had hitherto tried to dishonour each other, and which could but produce hatred and strife, were to be interdicted; and on taking holy orders every one was to abjure all factiousness, and to promise by an oath to show moderation and equanimity towards all. Those, however,

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who continued to inveigh against their Christian brethren for nonconformity in human doctrines and ceremonies, were to be deposed after a third admonition. Books and writings, before being printed, were to be submitted for inspection by censors; and young men who had not long left school were not to be allowed to preach, but only such as had gained by experience the true knowledge of human life and heart. Such was to be the form of Church government, so that no clergyman could do anything publicly, unknown to the supreme power.

It will be seen that the opinions and proposals which Dury set before the Protestant powers of Germany cast a full light upon the situation of Church matters at that time. But whether they were practicable even then, whether the spiritual circumstances of the Evangelical Church were favourable to the acceptance of these proposals, is quite another question. Our true-hearted Scotchman believed them practicable, for he believed, like all idealists, in the unprejudiced love of truth, and in the candour and goodwill of those upon whom the realisation of his projects depended. Of course he was aware of the great difficulties which would have to be surmounted. "What is necessary," he says, "are skilful negotiators, full of inflexible courage, who understand how to manage these delicate matters with the utmost caution." He hoped to find such men, but not among theologians only, for the questions here were not solely theological; political interests were also involved, and therefore wise and skilful politicians must care for them,—unprejudiced men, who will aim only at the real concord of the Churches. These, he advised, must, by private negotiations, prepare all measures that were to be taken before convening a public meeting; and it would be necessary to gather the votes of all interested Churches in order to see what differences really required settlement. In this way, he was persuaded there would be a possibility of getting a formula on which all parties could agree. Dury had in view a general assembly of all the Evangelical Churches and powers, not only of Germany, but also of the foreign kingdoms and territories; and this congress, after having gathered the votes, was to be empowered to determine what should be obliterated from the particular confessions, and what must be retained as the common creed and foundation of public teaching and worship. This assembly, he demanded, must have legislative authority in order to draw up a common confession which should contain the agreement of all Churches, and to establish a new form of government combining all Evangelical Churches in one great body, by extending Presbyterianism throughout the whole Church. Neither of the two parties must, according to Dury's proposals, be allowed to attack the other in polemical treatises; and, to satisfy both, there must be two presidents entrusted with the management of the common interests—one for the Lutherans, from the Church of Saxony; the other, for the Reformed Church, from that of England. By this means Dury thought each party would get its due rights.

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Dury was looking out for a formula which would satisfy all the different theological parties, and could not be persuaded that such a formula was itself an impossibility. To satisfy every one, it must be as indefinite as possible; but how could such an undefined formula satisfy any one with precise and determined theological principles opposed to other views which he regarded not only as erroneous, but as dangerous to men's eternal welfare? That his proposals were impracticable at that age, Dury was to experience soon enough. He found them rejected by those whom he tried to persuade in their favour—those who always had been the principal opponents of Evangelical union—the Lutherans.

It is true that from many of those to whom he had despatched his memorials, especially from those congregations which had retained the name and the doctrines of the Reformed Church, he received somewhat favourable answers. But even these were not satisfied with all that he proposed. The object of his endeavours they acknowledged to be desirable, and they expressed their readiness to help; but, at the same time, they doubted whether the means and the conditions by which Dury hoped to succeed were right. For instance, the congregation of Sedan replied that conformity in doctrines and ceremonies was in their opinion unnecessary; and the Reformed Church of France thought it had done enough, at the Assembly of Charenton in 1631, in acknowledging the Lutherans as brethren, and in granting them communion with the Church, demanding nothing but that they should keep the peace, and not quarrel about the peculiar Lutheran doctrines. Quite in the same line ran the answer given by the Reformed Church of Anhalt: To tolerate each other, as the Colloquy of Leipzig had proposed, was the only right way of reconciling the Protestant Churches—the only possible way of making peace between those who were divided by their different opinions.

Thus the answers which he received from the Reformed Churches agreed generally to his proposals, but opposed them in some particulars. From the Lutheran party, on the contrary, he met, excepting from a few, with a strict refusal. The theologians of the Brunswickian University of Helmstaedt, it is true, declared themselves ready to enter into negotiation with the Reformed, and even the Transylvanian, congregations. But these declarations could not be of great importance. By genuine Lutherans, the Helmstaedt professors themselves were suspected of being heretics; and the Transylvanians had no influence at all upon the Concordists in Germany. As they said themselves, the whole matter depended on the authorities at Wittenberg and Leipzig; and these, as well as the theologians of Jena, thoroughly foiled the proposals of the Scotchman. Who had caused all the uneasiness and discord of the Church? They protested that it was the followers of Zwingli and Calvin, who had turned apostates by abandoning the "unchanged Augsburg Confession," and there was no other way of promoting the union

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of the Church than by returning to the genuine Lutheran creed. The other side must give up their false doctrines, otherwise conscience would not allow the true confessors of Lutheranism even to tolerate the Reformed. Thus even he who hoped for the best from all men had to acknowledge that there was no hope of negotiation. Dury could not but feel disappointed.

Nevertheless, he was not discouraged even by this experience, but hoped for better success in future, when men's minds were better prepared for his proposals. After this check, in the end of 1633, he went again to England, in order to seek new support from the authorities there. Archbishop Abbot had died; and accordingly Dury could no longer refer to the recommendation he had received from that prelate, or pretend to be empowered by the Church of England. To get a new authority, therefore, seemed necessary, but if he had hoped for the favour of the successor of Archbishop Abbot, he was thoroughly mistaken. Archbishop Laud, the favourite and champion of Charles I., could not feel inclined to grant his assistance to one who was a member of the Presbyterian Church; and the stern archbishop declared that unless the Scotchman would join the Church of England and renounce his native Church, he would not be disposed to give him support, authority, and a letter of recommendation to the powers and Churches of the Continent. This was a heavy demand, indeed, and we may imagine that Dury had conscientious scruples, and was not much inclined to agree. But such was his eagerness, that he consented at last to acknowledge the Episcopalian form of Church government, and to become one of the king's chaplains,—a resolution to which he may have been induced by the idea that Church government was an outward thing, and that in regard to creed the Church of England was in accordance with the Scotch Presbyterian Church. He who had been accustomed for many years to look for real conformity and accord between different evangelical denominations, looked indeed from a point of view far above all those who were quarrelling at that time about their own peculiar positions. He did not lay much stress on the form of Church government, provided that the substance of the creed was the same; and accordingly thought it of no great importance if, by joining the Church of England, he could get the support of the mighty archbishop.

However that might be, his agreement to the demand of Archbishop Laud did not procure him much advantage. A certificate that the Church of England consented to his proposals was what the Archbishop gave him now, but that was all he could get. Laud had too much to do with his own affairs and quarrels to have time for those of foreign Churches. Nevertheless, Dury returned to Germany, desirous to resume his labours, and hoping that the certificate which he carried from the highest authority of the Church of England would open him the way. He went, therefore, first to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where the ambassadors of the

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Evangelical powers of Germany were assembled in order to deliberate regarding the means by which they might resist the united forces of the emperor and the pope ; and, indeed, it was necessary to say nothing about Church affairs if they did not wish to be overwhelmed by their powerful enemies. The discord concerning theological doctrines, hindered the Evangelical party from being at all active, and rather formed a pretext for sisting all political and military association among those who professed the doctrines of the Gospel. The forces of the emperor were already threatening Franconia ; nevertheless, the Elector of Saxony, who simultaneously, indeed, was treating with the court of Vienna at Leitmeritz, opposed every kind of communion with the Reformed. If any alliance were to be formed among the Evangelicals, he stipulated that the Calvinists should be excluded ; Calvinism, he protested, must be extirpated throughout the empire. The Elector of Brandenburg, indeed, insisted most decidedly upon a close alliance among all the Evangelical powers ; but the Saxon gave a decided refusal, declaring that under these circumstances Calvinism would be promoted, as they would be compelled to protect each prince in that form of religion which he confessed, and this would be against God as well as against conscience. The blindness of these Saxon politicians was extraordinary ; and if we say that the peacemaker was there at his place, unfortunately we must add that he was but a preacher in the wilderness ; on the side of the Lutherans he found nothing but deaf ears.

Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, introduced him to the meeting at Frankfort, and recommended his purpose warmly enough as one of great importance. But the politicians of Saxony decided that they would not be instructed concerning transactions about Church matters ; and what Dury obtained was merely an acknowledgment of the laudability of his proposals, and a promise to take his suggestions *ad referendum*. With this resolution he had to be content, all the more as at the moment of deliberation, and before settling anything, the Swedish army was defeated at Nördlingen by the troops of the emperor, and nothing was left to the meeting but to start immediately. The miserable imbecility of the whole Protestant party, caused by their discord in regard to Church matters, became most evident on this occasion. Thus Dury was again disappointed.

FREDERIC H. BRANDES.

(To be continued.)

RATIONALISTIC TESTIMONIES TO CHRIST.

IN my book on the "Person of Christ" (revised edition, London and New York, 1880) I gave a collection of striking testimonies of unbelievers, sceptists and rationalists, from Tacitus and Celsus down to Rousseau, Napoleon, Strauss, and Renan, concerning the moral perfection

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of Christ, which have considerable evidential value; for the testimony of an enemy is often more conclusive than that of a friend. They prove that there is in the inmost heart of man an instinctive reverence and admiration for the spotless purity of Christ's character. Infidels may deny His miraculous works, but they cannot deny His miraculous character, which towers as high above the greatest sages and saints as the pyramids of Egypt above the sandy desert, or the snow-crowned Alps above the valleys beneath. In proportion as sceptics are honest and earnest, they feel drawn towards Him in a reverence which borders on worship. But admitting once the unique perfection of His humanity, there is but one step to the recognition of His Divinity; in fact, the former cannot be consistently maintained without the latter. He could not be morally perfect without absolute honesty, and this implies the truth of His testimony concerning Himself as the Son of the living God, and Saviour of the world.

We present here some additional testimonies of distinguished writers, which we have met in the course of recent studies.

DR. PAULUS.

Dr. Heinrich Eberhard Gottlieb Paulus (died at Heidelberg, August 1851, at the age of 90 years), the author of a life of Jesus, and a commentary on the Gospels, is the chief champion of the rationalistic misinterpretation of the miracles of Christ. Dr. F. W. Krummacher, the famous pulpit orator, gives the following account of an interview he had with him in his old age at Heidelberg. [See "Krummacher—An Autobiography," edited by his Daughter, translated by Rev. M. G. Easton. Edinburgh, 1871, p. 187.]

"I ventured to visit old Paulus also, when on my return journey I touched at Heidelberg. The good-natured Suabian, in whom I found the same contradiction between the heart and head which I had found in Hebel, received me with true fatherly heartiness, although he was sitting at work surrounded by his huge folios. He at once engaged in conversation with me on theological questions. When in the course of my observations I expressed the idea, that to him Christ seemed to be nothing more than a mere man, he sprang suddenly from his seat, and replied with great passion, and with glowing cheeks, "That is an unjust statement which people are not weary of repeating against me! Believe me, that I never look up to the Holy One on the cross, without sinking in deep devotion before Him. No, He is not a mere man as other men. He was an extraordinary phenomenon, altogether peculiar in His character, elevated high above the whole human race, to be admired, yea, to be adored." And much more to a similar intent he spake, with true animation, regarding the person of the Lord. Highly delighted at hearing such an altogether unexpected effusion from his mouth, I left him, wishing him the peace of old Simeon, which he took in a friendly way—indeed, replying to me, "I heartily thank you." Perhaps in my

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simplicity I gave too favourable an interpretation to his confession; yet, I read also in one of his later writings the words, "Christ is a miracle, a meteoric stone which has fallen down between our two ages of the world."

DR. DE WETTE.

Dr. M. M. L. De Wette, Professor of Theology at Basel, where he died 16th June, 1849, was one of the most learned of German rationalists and critics. He was constitutionally a sceptic, but of deep religious feeling and high-toned moral character, an honest seeker after truth, and longing for clear, strong faith. He characterised himself admirably in these sad lines, which were found among his papers:—

"Ich fiel in eine wirre Zeit,
Die Glaubenseintracht war vernichtet;
Ich mischte mich mit in den Streit,
Umsonst, ich hab' ihn nicht geschlichtet."

His best work is his "Exegetical Handbook on the New Testament," which has gone through several editions, and is almost as much used as Meyer's Commentary. In the Preface to the Commentary on Revelation, dated Basel, 20th June, 1848 (amidst the storms of revolutions), occurs the following remarkable passage, which may be regarded as his dying confession:—

"In studying the Apocalypse, I have not learned to prophesy, and the vision of the seer did not reach down to the present age: I cannot therefore know what will be the fate of our dear Protestant Church. Only this I know, that there is salvation in no other name but the name of Jesus Christ and Him crucified ("dass in keinem anderen Namen Heil ist als im Namen Jesu Christi des Gekreuzigten"), and that there is nothing higher for humanity than the God-manhood realised in Him, and the kingdom of God planted by Him ("die in ihm verwirklichte Gottmenschheit und das von ihm gepflanzte Reich Gottes"), an idea and a task which is not yet fully understood and carried out in life even by those who otherwise are justly considered as the most zealous and devoted Christians. If Christ were really and truly our life, how could such an apostacy be possible? Those in whom He lived would, by their whole life in word, writing, and deed, so powerfully bear witness to Him, that unbelief would be struck dumb. . . . Christianity must become life and deed. . . . More than seven times seven plagues will be necessary to teach us where true salvation is to be found."

LECKY.

Mr. Wm. Edward Hartpole Lecky, M.A., a native of Ireland (born 26th March, 1838), and graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, a rationalistic, but very able and fair historian of "Rationalism in Europe" (1865, 2 vols., 5th ed., 1872); of "European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne" (1869, 2 vols.); and of "England in the Eighteenth

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Century" (1878), pays the following tribute to Christ in his "History of European Morals," Vol. II., pp. 9 and 10 (New York ed.):—

"If Christianity was remarkable for its appeals to the selfish or interested side of our nature, it was far more remarkable for the empire it attained over disinterested enthusiasm. The Platonist exhorted men to imitate God, the Stoic to follow reason, the Christian to the love of Christ. The later Stoics had often united their notions of excellence in an ideal sage, and Epictetus had even urged his disciples to set before them some man of surpassing excellence, and to imagine him continually near them; but the utmost the Stoic ideal could become was a model for imitation, and the admiration it inspired could never deepen into affection.

"It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which through all the changes of eighteen centuries has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love, has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions—has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an influence, that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and to soften mankind, than all the disquisitions of philosophers, and all the exhortations of moralists.

"This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that have defaced the Church, it has preserved, in the character and example of its Founder, an enduring principle of regeneration. Perfect love knows no rights. It creates a boundless, uncalculating self-abnegation that transforms the character, and is the parent of every virtue. Side by side with the terrorism and the superstitions of dogmatism, there have ever existed in Christianity those who would echo the wish of St. Theresa, that she could blot out both heaven and hell, to serve God for Himself alone; and the power of the love of Christ has been displayed alike in the most heroic pages of Christian martyrdom, in the most pathetic pages of Christian resignation, in the tenderest pages of Christian charity. It was shown by the martyrs who sank beneath the fangs of wild beasts, extending to the last moment their arms in the form of the cross they loved; who ordered their chains to be buried with them as the insignia of their warfare; who looked with joy upon their ghastly wounds, because they had been received for Christ; who welcomed death as the bridegroom welcomes the bride, because it would bring them near to Him."

THE AUTHOR OF "SUPERNATURAL RELIGION."

"Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Origin of Divine Revelation." Sixth edition, London, 1875-79, in 3 vols.

The anonymous author of this work reproduces in English the most advanced German and Dutch Rationalism of the Tübingen and Leyden

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schools, and endeavours to divest Christianity of all its supernatural elements, explaining them away as the aftergrowth of the fervid imagination of the East. Yet he is forced to admit that the historical Christ represents in doctrine and life the highest attainable summit of moral purity and perfection. The following quotation is from Vol. II., pp. 487 and 488 :—

“ It must be admitted that Christian ethics were not in their details either new or original. The precepts which distinguish the system may be found separately in early religions, in ancient philosophies, and in the utterances of the great poets and seers of Israel. The teaching of Jesus, however, carried morality to the sublimest point attained, or even attainable, by humanity. The influence of His spiritual religion has been rendered doubly great by the unparalleled purity and elevation of His own character. Surpassing in His sublime simplicity and earnestness the moral grandeur of Sākya Muni, and putting to the blush the sometimes sullied, though generally admirable, teaching of Socrates and Plato, and the whole round of Greek philosophers, He presented the rare spectacle of a life, so far as we can estimate it, uniformly noble and consistent with His own lofty principles, so that the ‘imitation of Christ’ has become almost the final word in the preaching of His religion, and must continue to be one of the most powerful elements of its permanence. His system might not be new, but it was in a high sense the perfect development of natural morality, and it was final in this respect amongst others, that, superseding codes of law and elaborate rules of life, it confined itself to two fundamental principles—love to God and love to man. Whilst all previous systems had merely sought to purify the stream, it demanded the purification of the fountain. It placed the evil thought on a par with the evil action. Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of Divine Law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity, and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range, and inexhaustible in their application. Its perfect realisation is that true spiritual *Nirvāna* which Sākya Muni less clearly conceived, and obscured with Oriental mysticism: extinction of rebellious personal opposition to Divine order, and the attainment of perfect harmony with the will of God.”

PHILIP SCHAFF.

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THE ELDERSHIP IN THE REFORMED CHURCH OF FRANCE.

(Translated from the French.)

DEAR SIR,—Having been asked to give your readers some details regarding the Eldership in the Reformed Church of France, I will try to comply in some measure with your request. You will understand that these indications cannot be numerous, as this fundamental institution of our Church has been but slightly modified since its origin. I shall content myself with giving a rapid glance at the duties of the elders and the modes of their election at the great epochs in the history of our Church.

I. 1559-1685.—It was at the first General Synod of our Church, which met at Paris from the 25th to the 28th of May, 1559, that the Reformed Church of France was organised, and this organisation, from the first, was Presbyterian, the same as Calvin had already established in the Church of Geneva. The administration was entrusted to bodies composed of pastors and laymen, the latter, called elders, representing the congregation; this has always formed the main portion of our ecclesiastical machinery. The pastoral body, as such, has never been appointed to rule the Church; the government was representative, and it was in the body of Church-members that the supreme power resided. All the members, from Admiral Coligny down to the humblest artisan, possessed equal rights. Moreover, no church could exercise the right of superiority over another (*"Discipline Ecclésiastique,"* vi. 1.) Such were the characteristic features of the old Church order, as regards the eldership.*

When a congregation was being formed, the elders were appointed by the common voice of the people. Every member of the flock who had been admitted to the Lord's Supper, and as long as he had not been excommunicated, was an elector. In order to be an elder of the Church, no condition as to rank or fortune was required. The number of elders in each church was not fixed, and as little was determined regarding the duration of their functions; changes being inconvenient,

* It is well known that the Book of Church Order (*Discipline ecclésiastique*), which originally contained forty articles, like the Confession of Faith, received considerable additions in succeeding synodal assemblies, as new needs arose. It finally contained fourteen chapters, divided into 252 articles; but the Church Order, thus extended, has been but a development of the forty original articles. In short, it was always open to receive modifications and improvements suggested by experience, in accordance with its concluding article, which ran as follows:—"These articles concerning Church Order are not so fixed among us as that they cannot be changed, if change be advantageous; but it shall not be in the power of ministers, consistories, conferences, or provincial synods, to make any change in them without the advice and consent of the National Synod."

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"they are exhorted to continue in office as long as they can do so." When once the presbytery* was formed, it elected those who were to fill the vacancies, as these took place. They would be afraid, by making too frequent calls on popular suffrage, to rouse the passions needlessly in those days of religious troubles. Nevertheless, the appointment of elders was fixed only after their names had been proposed to the congregation for three consecutive Sundays, "that the consent of the people might also be obtained." If the names of those who had been chosen met with no opposition on the part of the congregation, they were publicly admitted on the third Sunday. Standing in front of the pulpit, they were ordained to their office with solemn prayer. If there were any objection, the reason was to be examined by the consistoire; and if no agreement could be arrived at then, the whole matter was remitted to the conference or to the provincial synod.† The elders subscribed the Confession of Faith and the Book of Discipline; they were exhorted to have a copy each, in order to read and study it privately and leisurely (v.). Their duty is to assist the pastors in watching over the flock, to see that the people attend the Church, to report concerning scandals and offences, to take cognisance of these, and to assist the pastors in judging regarding them, and generally to concern themselves with all similar matters pertaining to the order, support, and government of the Church (iii. 3). However, they are admonished "not to report offences to the consistoire *without good reasons*." They are also charged to watch over purity of doctrine; if the harmony of the Church is in danger of being broken on any point of doctrine, or on the catechismal form, it shall be the duty of the consistoire promptly to settle the matter without any noise, and with all gentleness, according to the Word of God. If the contending parties will not acquiesce, the conference will be requested to meet; but while it is being summoned, they will be allowed to confer with the pastors and elders (v.). Occasionally, "considering the wants of the times," the consistoire will be able to choose some elders and deacons to catechise in families. The elders are also permitted, in absence of the pastor, to pray in public, on ordinary days, when they have been chosen by the consistoire; in this they shall follow the ordinary form, and shall read only the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. "If they prove unworthy of their office, the elders, as well as the deacons, shall

* French, *consistoire*.

† It is well known that the court superior to the *consistoires* was the conference (*colloque*), composed of one pastor and one elder from every congregation in the district. It met at least twice a-year, and its main office was to settle difficulties which might arise in congregations. Above the conferences stood the provincial synods, whose jurisdiction extended over a whole province; of these, there were sixteen. They met at least once a-year, and settled what had not been decided in the conferences. Every congregation within the province sent one minister and one elder to the provincial synod. If the minister came without an elder, or the elder without the minister, their vote was null (Discipline iii.)

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be deposed for the same reasons as in the case of ministers; and if, on being condemned by the consistoire, they appeal from its judgment, they shall remain suspended from their office, until decision is given on their case by the conference or by the provincial synod" (iii.).

The decisions of the twenty-nine national synods which for a century from 1559 (synod at Paris) to 1659 (synod at Loudun) gave direction to the Reformation in France, brought no important modification to the regulations respecting the appointment or functions of the elders.

After having subjected the Reformed to the most incredible annoyances, which rendered the exercise of their worship more and more difficult, Louis XIV. finally followed the advice of his counsellors in formally decreeing the abolition of the Reformation in France. On the 22nd of October, 1685, twenty-five years after the last National Synod had been held at Loudun, appeared the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, under the protection of which the French Protestants had lived for eighty-seven years. It is to this goal that all the efforts of the Government had been tending for thirty years before. The pastors were ordered to leave the kingdom within fifteen days; thousands of believers followed them into exile; large numbers of others, having neither strength to flee nor to suffer, yielded to the incessant attacks of a cruel or treacherous proselytism, and embraced Popery. The elders disappeared with the churches which they ruled.

II. 1726-1802.—The Churches, in spite of suffering and decimation, were not slow in reuniting secretly, and with them reappeared their Presbyterian organisation. They were composed of those who had continued steadfast in the faith, and had been unable to go and ask hospitality in a foreign land. They met in uninhabited and lonely spots. Even synods were reconstituted, in spite of prohibitions and royal threats, thanks to the energy and intelligent enthusiasm of Antoine Court. In 1726, the first National "Synod of the Desert," met in Vivarais, under the presidency of Jacques Roger. His first act was the renewal of the synodal bond connecting the Reformed Churches, by reading and adopting the Confession of Faith and the Book of Discipline of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

There were eight "Synods of the Desert" which met under the shadow of the rocks or in caves, from 1726 to 1763, under imminent danger to all those who attended. There, the "elders," among others, were exhorted to watch over the safety of the pastors, to provide them with guides, and to prepare for them places of refuge, though the punishment awaiting them, if discovered, was slavery in the galleys. It says more than anything else for the faith and courage of the Church at this period, that those who made such a promise ran the risk of being condemned beforehand, by the mere fact of making the engagement, to the most cruel treatment.

In the month of November, 1787, Louis XVI. published the Edict of Toleration, which, in spite of its defects and restrictions, was a

grand act of justice, for which Protestants have always been grateful to the memory of that unfortunate monarch. From that time, the consistoires were reconstituted; the pastor and the elders again returned to their labours.

III. 1802-1852.—Bonaparte, after concluding a Concordat with the Pope, Pius VII. (15th July, 1801), gave to the Protestants the law of the 18th Germinal, year X. (*i.e.*, 7th April, 1802). This they accepted as a compensatory measure; it modified, however, in some essential points, the organisation of the Reformed Churches. No doctrinal decision, no doctrinal formula, either under the name of a Confession of Faith or any other designation, could be published or become the basis of instruction, no change could be made in Church order, without the authority of the Government. The "elders" were henceforth chosen from among those whose names stood highest on the list of those who paid direct taxes, *i.e.*, from among the richest in the community, these being supposed to be the most worthy and respected. Considerations of fortune were preferred to those of faith and piety. The consistoire, appointed by those who paid the highest taxes, was itself renewed, by one-half, every two years. For this election, the "elders" in office were to associate with themselves an equal number of Protestant citizens, heads of families, chosen equally from among the most highly taxed. Not merely was there no right of election left to the congregation, but there was not even any right of veto. The number of elders in a consistoire could not be less than six, or more than twelve. The consistoire was to care for the maintenance of Church order, the administration of the funds of the church, and of those for the poor, (Law of the 18th Germinal, II. 20). In fact, under this regime, the elders of the Church, reduced—or very nearly so—to the position of managers, hardly felt themselves free to take an important initiative step; the religious side of their functions, misunderstood by the Government, finally lost its importance in their own eyes. In some churches, however,—that of Bolbec, for instance—the elders were inducted only after having engaged "before God and in presence of the assembled believers, that they would maintain the Confession of Faith and the order of Church government determined by the National Synods, according to the Word of God." They promised, "in dependence on the grace of God, to use every effort to fulfil the honourable office with which they had been invested."

IV. 1852-1882.—The Law of Germinal was the only rule of the Official Reformed Churches in France till the decree of Napoleon III., of 26th May, 1852, which modified that law on two important points regarding the functions of the elders. (1) This decree made every local church into a distinct parish, with its own life and its council; this conseil-presbyteral is composed of five lay members for parishes having only one pastor, of six members for those with two pastors, of seven members for those with three or more pastors. From that time,

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the ecclesiastical edifice reposed, not on the vast agglomeration which, under the name of a consistoire, overwhelmed small communities, but on the parish. (2) This same decree entrusted the election of conseil-presbyteraux, not to those paying the highest taxes, but to the ecclesiastical body. The right of election belongs to those who are at least thirty years of age, and have resided two years in the parish; they must also prove that they belong to the Reformed Church, that they attend its public services and share in its obligations, and, in the case of marriage, that they have received the nuptial blessing according to the Protestant form.* The conseils-presbyteraux are renewed by one-half every three years. They manage the affairs of the parishes, under the authority of the presbyteries, and look after the distribution of alms to the poor. When a vacancy occurs in the pastorate, the conseil-presbyteral of the parish concerned presents a list of three candidates, out of whom the consistoire in which the parish is situated nominates the pastor.

In the General Synod of 1872, one of the questions most keenly debated was that of the conditions required from those who are called to elect the elders of the Church. To the civil conditions laid down by the decree of 1852, the synod added certain religious tests, the title "Protestant" implying not merely outward requirements, such as participation in the Lord's Supper and the marriage blessing, but a personal adherence to the faith of the Protestant Church. The synod then decreed the following regulations:—The conseil-presbyteral, composed of the pastor or pastors of the parish, and of the elders, is elected by those whose names are inscribed on the parish register. French Protestants, of twenty-five years of age and upwards, are inscribed in this register on demand; "they declare that they remain cordially attached to the Reformed Church of France, and to revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments." This religious test has not yet been promulgated by the Government. Accordingly, the electoral conditions laid down by the decree of 1852 still remain the only legal ones.

Let me add, in closing, that in the movement which has arisen within our churches in favour of non-official synods, and which is ever gaining strength, the lay element is assuming more and more importance, and consequently the usefulness and influence of the elder's office are thereby always more appreciated.

JEAN MONOD.

MONTAUBAN, 1882.

* The scheme of Church government proposed by the General Synod of 1872 lowered the age of the electors to twenty-five years, and shortened the length of residence to one year.

THE GREAT POETS OF AMERICA— WHITTIER.

IN Whittier's poetry there is more hope than in Longfellow's. There is a gently-buoyant forward look, an expression of a trustful heart that the future will be better than the past. There is also a steadfast joy over the power of love. It is the light in dark days, and the angel both of mercy and healing for all the wounds and sorrow of our life. It is with love he wraps the memory of the companions who have preceded him into the unseen land. In his fine sonnets on Bayard Taylor, he bids "messages of love" go after him into "his unknown star." With the same love he shrouds the faults of those who have failed. Although he abhorred slavery, one of his richest "In Memoriam" poems is his dirge for Randolph of Roanoke, a slaveholder. And nothing in the volume of "Later Poems," published the other day, is more beautiful than the noble verses, "The Lost Occasion," in which he retracts and softens the blame expressed in an early poem on Webster, and finds for the strayed statesman an excuse in the ways of fate.

There is no theme which he has handled on so many sides as the conquest of love over sectarian differences and bitterness. Even when outwardly compassing his objects, the persecutor is made to fail in Whittier's songs. He will have mercy rather than "sacrifice" in all the relations of life. But it is from this very quality that a tendency, which Longfellow was too great an artist to yield to—the tendency to preaching and theological statement—arises. It is no doubt a flaw in Whittier. He passes easily out of the poetic into the prophetic mood, and indulges too much in the latter, so that there is, in reading his poems, an occasional experience of their being spun out. Mr. Whittier is a Quaker; that explains much. And he is a Quaker of the earliest type; that explains more. He holds nearly all that George Fox held. He believes in the Inner Light—in its power, in its divineness, in its authority. And his conception of human life is of a perpetual conflict between this Light and sin. In consequence of this, Whittier's poetry is full of the mystic element, and of that accented confidence in the future of the Light to which in other words I have referred.

It is in his ballads he rises to his greatest height. But in these and in all his poems, like our own Browning, it is "men and women" he sets himself to study and portray. Oriental and Middle Age legends, especially those that embody phases of his religious faith, have a great fascination for him, and are eagerly seized and worked in to the web of his song. "The Hermit of the Thebaid," "The Gift of Tritemius," and "Tauler's Adventure with the Beggar Man," are very good illustrations

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of this element in his poetry. "The Hermit of the Thebaid" is a finer edition of our own Parnell's Hermit, only, instead of lover meeting lover, it is a sister who meets her brother. The adventure of Tauler with the Beggar, to whom all things came well because he found God in all things, is a noble study of spiritual life. But I shall only quote from "Tritemius." He is the Abbot of Herbipolis. One day, while kneeling at the altar, he heard a miserable voice, a wail, as of a lost soul out of hell. It was a wretched woman, with grey hair, who was crying to him for money to redeem her son from the Moors. He had been stolen by them, and was a slave in their galleys. Tritemius offered his prayers: it was all he could offer—

"O man
Of God,' she cried, for grief had made her bold,
'Mock me not thus. I ask not prayers but gold.'"

But Tritemius had no gold, only food. From the abbey door none went unfed. There was but one soldo of coin in his store. She had his prayers; what could he give her more?

"Give me,' she said, 'the silver candlesticks,
On either side of the great crucifix;
God may well spare them on His errand sped,
Or He can give you golden ones instead.'"

And Tritemius yielded to this strong appeal—

"But his hand trembled as the holy alms
He placed within the beggar's eager palms;
And, as she vanished down the linden shade,
He bowed his head and for forgiveness prayed.
So the day passed, and when the twilight came,
He woke to find the chapel all aflame;
And—dumb with grateful wonder—to behold
Upon the altar candlesticks of gold."

There is another element which characterises Whittier's poetry, and which no doubt is an offshoot from his general faith in love. I shall perhaps best describe it by calling it a reverent assertion of the tenderness of God's dealings with men. He strongly believes that the tender mercies of the Lord are over all His works, and that mercy rejoiceth against judgment. Among many poems which more or less reflect this faith, I shall quote, to illustrate this, one which is as perfect in its art as it is tender in its theology—"Skipper Ireson's Ride." The skipper had sailed away from a leaking ship in Chaleur Bay, had left it to sink, knowing that his own townsfolk were on deck, and to their passionate cries for help had answered back—

"Sink or swim!
Brag of your catch of fish again!
And off he sailed through the fog and the rain.
And fathoms deep in dark Chaleur
That wreck had to lie for ever more.

And mother, and sister, and wife, and maid,
Had looked from the rocks of Marblehead
Over the moaning and rainy sea
For the coming that might not be."

But now his doom has overtaken him, and we see—

"Old Floyd Ireson, for his hard heart,
Tarred and feathered and carried in a cart,
By the women of Marblehead."

The storm of wrath, the varieties of malediction, the excitement of old and young, as the miserable victim is driven past the homes he had made desolate, are vividly rendered ; but these are only things by the way. What the poet hastens forward to bring out to view is the more terrible retribution of conscience, already at work in the sinner's own heart—

" 'Hear me, neighbours,' at last he cried,
 'What to me is this noisy ride ?
 What is the shame that clothes the skin,
 To the nameless horror that lives within ?
 Waking or sleeping, I see a wreck,
 And hear a cry from a reeling deck ;
 Hate me and curse me, I only dread
 The hand of God and the face of the dead.' "

That confession moved the hearts of some in the crowd who had suffered most cruelly by his sin—

"So with soft relentings and rude excuse,
Half scorn, half pity, they cut him loose,
And gave him a cloak to hide him in,
And left him alone with his shame and his sin."

Most reluctantly I pass the noble ballad of Cassandra Southwick, in which he works on a theme always dear to him,—the persecution endured by the early Quakers in New England,—and turn to two which come still closer to the heart, and which in every sense are perfect, I mean "The Witch's Daughter" and "Maud Muller." "The Witch's Daughter" takes us back to the cruel time when innocent women were put to death for witchcraft, and their children branded with the shame. No child could have felt that shame more keenly than Mabel Martin. Among other children while she was a child, and later, among young people making merry—

She sat apart, as one forbid,
Who knew that none would condescend
To own the witch's child a friend.

Her sad lot, her utter isolation, the awful shadow of unceasing hatred from those around her are described with great pathos. So is the harvest festival at Ezek Warden's, at which the poor girl is wounded to the quick by the cruel glances and coarse taunts of those of her own age. But this was the turning point of her life. Ezek had seen the wicked treatment of his guest—

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" 'Good neighbours mine,' he sternly said,
'This passes harmless mirth or jest;
I brook no insult to my guest.
She is indeed her mother's child,
But God's sweet pity ministers
Unto no whiter soul than hers.' "

He says more. He vindicates the old mother herself. He denounces the wicked neighbours who swore her harmless life away. Better still, his pity for the daughter grows to love, and at a moment when life seemed deepening into unendurable bitterness under the shadow and chill of malice, Ezek asked her to be his wife :

" Her tears of grief were tears of joy,
As folded in his strong embrace
She looked in Ezek Warden's face.
'O truest friend of all,' she said,
'God bless you for your kindly thought,
And make me worthy of my lot.' "

As a work of art, and for the simplicity and far-reaching pathos of the story, "Maud Muller" will no doubt always hold the first place among Whittier's ballads. It is the oft-recurring story of two souls, fitted for each other, smitten with the longing that announces the lost mate of Eden, yet missing their destiny, and carrying the pain of their loss as a hidden sorrow all their days. On a beautiful summer day, Maud Muller is raking the meadow sweet with hay. Health and beauty gleam from under the torn hat that covers her, and her heart is glad, and song bursts from her lips.

" But when she glanced to the far-off town,
White from its hill-slope looking down,
The sweet song died, and a vague unrest,
And a nameless longing filled her breast—
A wish, that she hardly dared to own
For something better than she had known."

At that moment the judge came riding past. He is arrested by Maud. He draws bridle under the shade of the apple trees, and asks a draught from the spring that flowed through the meadow.

" She stooped where the cool spring bubbled up,
And filled for him her small tin cup,
And blushed as she gave it, looking down
On her feet so bare and her tattered gown."

That is the moment which was to take hold of those two, which neither was to forget to the end of life. Long years after, when the judge had reached the topmost round of his position, when the wine in his cup was red, he recalled the draught from the wayside well :

" And the proud man sighed with a secret pain,
'Ah, that I were free again,
Free as when I rode that day,
Where the barefoot maiden raked her hay.' "

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And she also, looking back from the narrow home and poverty which had closed round her life, saw often that one moment of bliss, that manly form, that look of love, that gate that opened to reveal the possibilities of life—and also, the utter evanishing of the vision :

“Then she took up her burden again,
Saying only : ‘It might have been !’
Alas for the maiden, alas for the judge,
For rich repiner and household drudge !
For of all sad words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are these : ‘It might have been.’”

Mr. Whittier is writing still, although he is more than seventy years of age. The same strains sound, the same lessons are given forth as in his earlier poems. But the shadow of the unseen world,—or should I rather say its light ?—is more visible on his work. And it is only the other day, that in a most tender little poem, he anticipates his own entrance on that world. He names it “At Last,” and it is in the form of a prayer. When the voices out of the darkness call to him, and the unknown paths are opening, when all that God’s love has dropped down into his earthly life is felt to be drifting away, this is the yearning of his spirit :

“O Father ! Let Thy Spirit
Be with me then to comfort and uphold ;
No gate of pearl, no branch of palm, I merit,
Nor street of shining gold.
Suffice it if—my good and ill unreckoned,
And both forgiven through Thy abounding grace—
I find myself by hands familiar beckoned
Unto my fitting place :
Some humble door among Thy many mansions,
Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,
And flows forever through heaven’s green expansions
The river of Thy peace.
There, from the music round about me stealing,
I fain would learn the new and holy song,
And find, at last, beneath Thy trees of healing,
The life for which I long.”

A. MACLEOD.

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RECENT BOOKS.

I. THE CHURCH AND ITS SERVICES.

SOMEWHAT of a sudden, Presbyterian and other writers have become very earnest on the subject of the Church and its services. The number of books on our table bearing on these is an obvious proof of this observation.

First we have, among "Handbooks for Bible Classes," a little volume on the Church by Professor BINNIE of Aberdeen,* containing a succinct account of most of the questions of importance on a subject that, because it is not of the most vital interest, many seem to think is of none. In these days it is of great importance that the minds of people be well informed on what the Bible really teaches and our Lord wishes us to know, respecting the Church visible as well as the Church invisible. Dr. Binnie writes clearly and briefly, so that his book is truly adapted to the purposes of a text-book for the higher kind of Bible classes. Scotch people have a great affinity for Church questions, and therefore the book ought to be of no small interest to them. Next, we have Mr. WALKER'S "Scottish Church History,"† compressing the most interesting features of the history of the Scottish Church into a similar manual of 160 pages. Mr. Walker writes from the stand-point of the Free Church, and the concluding part of his book bears on the movement which gave birth to that Church. He has the knack of selecting and giving prominence to the most salient points and the most remarkable men at the different periods of the history—an excellent feature of a text-book, and rendering it what all the books of this series certainly are not—well adapted for examination purposes.

Bearing more on the public services of the Church, two important works have just been issued by ministers of the Established Church of Scotland. Dr. SPROTT of North Berwick's work on the "Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland,"‡ consists of Lectures delivered by him, under an appointment by the General Assembly, on the following topics:—1. Public Prayer; 2. Baptism and admission of Catechumens; 3. Holy Communion; 4. Services for Matrimony, Burial, Fasting, and Thanksgiving; 5. Ordination, &c.; 6. Church Architecture, &c. Talking vaguely, some would be disposed to call Dr. Sprott a ritualist, and

* The Church, by William Binnie, D.D., Professor of Church History, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Clark, 1882.

† Scottish Church History, by Rev. N. L. Walker, Dysart. Edinburgh: Clark, 1882.

‡ The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland. Being Lectures delivered at the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh. By G. W. Sprott, D.D., Minister of North Berwick. Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1882.

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some a formalist. Of ritualism proper there is really nothing in these lectures; that is, no tendency to make external acts take the place of preaching and exposition for presenting and pressing home spiritual truth. Neither is there aught of the evil spirit of formalism; that is, there is no desire to substitute external forms of reverence for the spiritual exercises of true devotion. Dr. Spratt sincerely desires to promote the genuine worship of God, and to get men to engage in that worship on the true evangelical basis, as sinners who need forgiveness, and who can approach God only through the propitiation of His Son, and by the working in them of the Holy Spirit. But Dr. Spratt believes that outward order and decorum, while it is the expression of the true spirit of worship, helps likewise to deepen and increase it; and he is most earnest in trying to encourage every arrangement that, according to his view of the past history of the Scottish Church and the requirements of the Directory for public worship, has a tendency in that direction. Dr. Spratt has made a study of the law and practice of the Church on this subject, and is in possession of abundant stores of historical and other information regarding it. The use which he makes of these stores is highly instructive, and shows that many things supposed to be very sacred in our ordinary public services are contrary to early usage and to early legislation, and are either the result of slovenliness and carelessness, or of that disposition to concur with the English Puritans which caused the Scottish Church in the middle of the seventeenth century to give up not a few of its earliest usages. We have no hesitation in saying that, though they may not agree in all points, or even in all essential points, with the author, ministers of all Presbyterian churches, who are called to conduct public worship, may derive much benefit from the perusal of this book. Dr. Spratt considers that the two great enemies of the Presbyterian Church have been rationalism and ultra-puritanism, and, on the lines of simple evangelicalism, he endeavours to steer his course between both. Writing as he does only on external matters, he perhaps cannot help conveying the idea of an undue importance attaching to these. Probably he might have made more of his opportunities of touching on the weightier matters of the Gospel. When, for example, he reprobates the practice of those who profess to make sure of the spiritual regeneration of all that are admitted to the Church, he might have indicated that while the Church is not called to decide on this judicially, yet the pastor as such is bound to do his utmost to promote it, and certainly the applicant is bound to examine into his own spiritual state, and come to a definite conclusion regarding it. On the subject of discipline, Dr. Spratt says that the broken-up condition of the Church in Scotland has made the exercise of it impossible. How can this be? Why should the Churches not bind themselves to respect each other's discipline? Dr. Spratt must surely see that this is a very inadequate way of disposing of a very solemn and important question. We must add, that we should look for more sympathy with

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spiritual movements that are very powerful in their results, though, it may be, disorderly in their method. We should think the Salvation Army would fill Dr. Sprott with horror.

THE other volume is Dr. H. W. SMITH'S "Pastor as Preacher."* Its fundamental idea, as explained in the title, is that of the relation between pastoral and preaching duties. The preacher whom Dr. Smith desires to train is not a preacher pure and simple, but one whose preaching is the outcome, to a large extent, of the knowledge of his people that he has gained by pastoral intercourse, and is in all respects subservient to the business of pastoral edification. A ministry of this kind may not be very brilliant, but it is singularly useful. We would say the same of the book before us. It does not contain a great deal that has not been said already, but it is singularly practical in its whole tone and structure, and constantly and earnestly directed to the great object of building up the kingdom of God. Its spirit is evangelical; and while throughout it reveals a sound practical judgment and large store of good sense, it is elegant and scholarly in style. It has often been remarked that no practical counsels will supersede the lessons that each young preacher must derive from experience. We should be sorry, indeed, that any young preacher should set himself, in preaching, to follow even the best book of homiletics that ever was written. The value of such books lies in directing attention to what would otherwise be overlooked, and enabling young preachers to begin their career with a vivid idea of dangers to be avoided, and great practical aims to be continually prosecuted.

MR. DUNCAN'S "Scottish Sanctuary"† is more like a collection of the author's table-talk than a formal treatise on public worship. His more immediate object being to trace the changes that have recently occurred, he is led to inquire into the origin and grounds of many of the old practices in worship, and the principles underlying recent changes. Some very curious information is given, showing the extraordinary value attached to customs that had really no better foundation than the caprice of those who began them. Many important practical views are presented bearing on the conduct of public worship.

IN "Grounds and Methods of Admission to Sealing Ordinances"‡ the Rev. D. D. BANNERMAN, M.A., of Perth, has reproduced a valuable paper on that subject, first submitted to the Presbyterian Council at Philadelphia and published in the volume of its Proceedings, and here

* The Pastor as Preacher; or, Preaching in Connection with Work in the Parish and the Study. Being Lectures at the Universities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. By Henry Wallis Smith, Minister of Kirknewton and East Calder. Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1882.

† The Scottish Sanctuary as It Was and as It Is; or, Recent Changes in the Public Worship of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. By Rev. A. Duncan, U.P. Church, Mid-Calder. Edinburgh: Elliot.

‡ Edinburgh: Elliot, 1882.

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reproduced with some alterations and additions. It is scholarly in substance, but popular in size and form; and the circulation of it is fitted to be of much service.

In his ninety-five closely-printed pages on "The Westminster Divines and the Use of Instrumental Music,"* Professor Killen takes up ground which the reader of his "Ancient Church" would hardly have expected; but he makes no scruple of saying that, after full inquiry and mature deliberation, he has changed his mind on the question whether instrumental music is lawful in the public worship of the New Testament. Formerly, he thought that it was not, but now he is thoroughly convinced that it is. In the course of discussions on the subject in the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, it came to be a question, What were the views of the Westminster Assembly Divines on the question? This question Dr. Killen has naturally considered; and the result to which he comes is that, with the exception of some of the Scotch commissioners and a few others, the divines did not hold instrumental music to be unlawful.

Dr. Killen maintains the following facts and inferences:—In the famous Millenary Petition of 1603, when the Puritan ministers—amounting, as was stated, to 1000—presented to the new sovereign a list of their objections to the Episcopal ritual, there was no mention of instrumental music, any more than there was at the Hampton Court Conference, where their complaints were enumerated again. Going further back to Luther and Calvin, he says that, while the German reformer encouraged instrumental music, Calvin condemned it. But, on fuller consideration, many of the Calvinistic divines were of opinion that it had been condemned by their leader on erroneous grounds, and organs were set up in many churches where the people were able to pay for them. John Knox, following Calvin, excluded it. George Gillespie abstained from mentioning the organ, though he was dead against all Popish ceremonies, and he keeps this silence even when arguing against Richard Hooker, who maintained its lawfulness. When the Westminster divines petitioned Parliament to suppress the evils of the times, and when, in August, 1643, in compliance with this prayer, the Lords and Commons passed an ordinance forbidding all crucifixes, images, crosses, &c., they did not say anything of organs. When the sectaries overawed the Lords and Commons, an order was issued (in 1646), that organs be taken down. The Scotch Commissioners wrote to the General Assembly informing them of this; but when the Westminster divines had occasion to write to the Scotch, they said nothing of it. The Scotch Assembly, however, wrote to the English divines that they had been greatly refreshed by the news, but the latter took no notice of the matter.

* The Westminster Divines and the Use of Instrumental Music in the Worship of God. By W. D. Killen, D.D., President of Assembly's College, Belfast, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History. Belfast: Mullen.

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With regard to other opinions on the subject, Baxter's view was:—

"‘Nothing can be against it that I know of but what is said against tunes and melody of voice. For, whereas they say it is a human invention; so are our tunes, and metre, and versions. Yea, it is not a human invention, as the last Psalm and many others show, which calls us to praise the Lord with instruments of music.’ . . .

"Milton was in favour of the use of instruments in worship. In his tracts relating to the Smectymnuan controversy, he gives free utterance to his sentiments, and elsewhere he expatiates in language of surpassing beauty on ‘the solemn and Divine harmonies of music.’ . . .

"Francis Rous, the author of the original edition of our own version of the Psalms, was an ardent instrumentalist. John Selden, by far the most distinguished scholar among the lay assessors, and one of the brightest literary luminaries of the seventeenth century, was the son of a musician, and was himself devotedly attached to the art. . . .

"Edward Leigh was not altogether favourable to the instrumentalists. In his ‘Body of Divinity’ he thus states their case as pleaded by the instrumentalists.—‘They say music used in the Old Testament was no figure, type, or ceremony, but a real thing for elevation of the soul. Types had their principal use in signifying something to come, but the first time we hear of a psalm we hear of a timbrel too, therefore they were used to it before, else they could not have played presently; therefore that precept, Psalm cl., “Praise God with flute and harp,” they think moral, and binds in respect to the thing itself, and warrants in respect of the manner. Music, they say, is a help to devotion, which doth not further it by any mystical signification, but by a proper and natural operation, and therefore is not a typical ceremony. Nature itself and God have fitted it to accompany a holy ceremony. Paul bids us edify ourselves in psalms; and a psalm is a song upon an instrument.’”

Dr. Killen lays considerable stress on two other facts: first, that in our Directory for Public Worship there is no prohibition of instruments; and second, that in the “Assembly’s Annotations” on Scripture the doctrine was repudiated that instrumental music was part and parcel of the Jewish ceremonies. The annotators thus explain Eph. v. 19: ‘Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs’—“It seemeth most probable that by psalms he means the Psalms of David, set to the harp or psaltery; by hymns, certain ditties made upon special occasion; and by spiritual songs, such as were not composed beforehand, and prick’d before then with musical notes, but such as men endited by an extraordinary gift.”

These notices may show our readers what is Dr. Killen’s position in this pamphlet. The Rev. Archibald Robinson, of Broughshane, however, assailed him in letters to the *Belfast Banner*, and Dr. Killen gives seven papers in reply to him. We are not furnished with a statement of Mr. Robinson’s views. Dr. Killen maintains that no principle of Presbyterianism is compromised by the position which he defends.

Of all current works bearing on any of the services of the Church, the “PULPIT COMMENTARY” is by far the most magnificent. One massive volume follows another with such rapidity that already, we believe, some ten or twelve have been published. The latest is a huge book of some 800 pages, on Exodus. As usual we have an introduction, an exposi-

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tion, homiletical notes, and brief homilies by sundry writers. In the present case the author of the introduction, exposition, and homiletical notes on Exodus, is Canon Rawlinson of Oxford. On many of the topics discussed in this book Mr. Rawlinson stands unrivalled as an authority. On questions of history, geography, and the like, all may count it an honour to sit at his feet. We must own, however, that as a theologian he is less trustworthy. Thus we find him saying, in reference to men of all creeds and religions :—"When a man refuses the evil and chooses the good, whether he be in covenant with God or out of covenant, his conduct is pleasing and acceptable for Christ's sake, who has enlightened him and sustained him, and enabled him to do his good works, and presents them to the Father, and obtains for them acceptance through his merits." Is this a way of writing on a subject which is one of the greatest mystery? Certainly we should have looked for more caution from Canon Rawlinson. Again, in reference to the first commandment, we find him saying, "The first commandment should not be difficult to keep. We have only to open our eyes to the facts [of God's character and doings], and let them make their natural impression on our minds in order to love One who has done and still does so much for us. Strange to say, he finds in the fourth commandment a Divine authority for "a liturgy, a ritual, and ceremonies." Little did the rigid Puritans think of this when they stood up for the fourth commandment. We cannot call these blemishes trivial, but at the same time there is an immense amount of valuable and suggestive matter in the vast mass of notes and homilies contained in this volume. One gets a new sense, in going over it, of the manifoldness and fertility of Scripture. We must add that we like the practice of giving such prominence to *exposition* as this commentary does, for no pulpit work can be good that overlooks this.

Our next book, "Three Hundred Outlines of Sermons on the New Testament" * is purely homiletical, not exegetical. We should have liked to know more of the origin of this book. The subjects are usually important, evangelical, and vital, and the outlines are excellent. When we mention Canon Liddon, Mr. Spurgeon, Mr. Phillips Brooks, Dr. Cairns, Dr. Dods, Dr. Dykes, Dr. Fraser, Dr. Crosby, Dr. Cuyler, Dr. Parker, Dr. Rainy, Dr. Robertson Smith, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Temple, Dr. Allen, Mr. Knox Little, &c. &c., as contributors, it will be seen that the very ablest men have been selected. We wonder why the editor has not subjoined the names instead of the initials to every outline. There is a glossary at the beginning, but it would have saved a great deal of trouble to give the names at once.

The *Homiletical Magazine* goes on its way as well as ever, though from a quarterly it has become a monthly journal. The contributions continue to be varied, the treatment fresh, and the tone for the most part very Scriptural.

* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1882.

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II. THEOLOGICAL.

DR. MORISON'S Commentary on Mark's Gospel * has already earned a good name for itself with all students of the Bible, and now makes a new appearance, in a revised and improved edition, to maintain its solid reputation. In its own way it is excellent. Making no attempt to be homiletical, it mainly concerns itself with the simple meaning of the Scripture text, and discusses various readings only when these demand special treatment. In a very full Introduction there is given an account of everything usually discussed in that department. There is no parade of learning, but very great care has been taken to gather everything of value in the writings of the Fathers and the most recent commentators of Germany and Holland.

VERY briskly goes on the publication of the Handbooks for Bible Classes, of which Rev. Dr. Whyte of Edinburgh, and Rev. Dr. Dods of Glasgow, are the editors. An exposition of Joshua, by Principal DOUGLAS, Professor of Hebrew, &c., in the Free Church College of Glasgow, and one of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by Professor DAVIDSON, who holds the same office in Edinburgh, have just appeared. Dr. Douglas, in his introduction, vindicates the early date of Joshua, and Dr. Davidson discusses the Pauline authorship of the Hebrews. Dr. Douglas has given special attention to the geography of the tribes, and availed himself very fully of the labours, and especially the recent trigonometrical map of the Palestine Exploration Society. Dr. Davidson has given us a very characteristic exposition of Hebrews, the chief features of which are thoroughness, comprehensiveness, and a resolute determination to import nothing from other parts of Scripture into the Hebrews, but to educe from it simply what it contains. No doubt he will throw himself open to sundry charges by this course, but it is the only course that can well be followed by a scholarly commentator. In Dr. Davidson's hands several of the leading views in the Hebrews are seen to be peculiar, the subjects being looked at from points of view peculiar to that book. Our fear is that this commentary will be found too subtle, too minute, too elaborate for a Bible class text-book; it is to be regretted that it was not given to the public as an independent work, and that the author did not produce it free from the trammels imposed by its special object; but indeed, he has, to a large extent, written independently.

WE have another, though smaller series of Bible text-books, edited by Professor SALMOND of Aberdeen, of which three valuable instalments have come to hand. "Life of Paul," by Rev. PATON J. GLOAG, D.D.; "Life and Reign of Solomon," by Rev. RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM, M.A., LL.B., B.Sc.; and "Bible Words and Phrases," by CHARLES MICHIE, M.A., Aberdeen. Another valuable and interesting work of exposition has appeared, one of a series of "Household Exposition," by one of our

* A Practical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Mark. By James Morison, D.D. Third Edition, Revised. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1882.

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own most esteemed collaborators, "The Speeches of the Holy Apostles," by Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D. Substantially, these are lectures on parts of the Book of Acts, and they are marked by the freshness and vivacity, the clear ring and fine finish of Dr. Harris's expositions. Dr. MOODY STUART in his "Israel's Lawgiver, his Narrative True and his Laws Genuine," has put on record his grounds for repudiating the theories of the modern criticism on the origin of Deuteronomy and the Mosaic ritual.

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

THE first volume of lectures on the "Evangelical Succession,"* embraces essays on Paul, Augustine, Columba, Anselm, Bernard, Wiclif, and Luther. The authors are Dr. Rainy, Dr. Marcus Dods, Rev. J. C. Macphail, Professor Thos. Smith, Professor Lindsay, Principal David Brown, and Professor Salmond. The idea of the course seems to be to show in what manner provision was made, as the Church advanced on her course, for maturing and keeping alive that stream of doctrine which we call evangelical, and which has for its backbone the doctrines of grace. The first two lectures are probably the ablest and most profound; they show the connection of these doctrines with the personal experience of the two men, the one inspired the other uninspired, that had most to do with launching them on the world. In their hands, the evangelical doctrine became the chief feature in the great current of Christian thought and feeling in the early centuries. Some of the other names were more connected with side currents than the main stream. Professor Lindsay frankly admits that Bernard tended to retard the Reformation movement, teaching, no doubt, the great doctrine of Divine grace in the gift of Christ and his work on behalf of men, but leading them to look to false methods of getting the benefit of that work; while at the same time he thinks him entitled to rank in the evangelical succession, on the ground that that expression must include all who taught men to renounce all human merit, all claim to God's favour on personal grounds, and to look only to the merit of the Saviour. The idea of this volume is undoubtedly good, well suited for public lectures in a large city; and we understand that in future seasons it will be carried out in connection with the movements that have emerged in post-Reformation times.

"Present Day Tracts" is the title of a series of apologetic papers, publishing under the auspices of the Religious Tract Society of London. Five of the series have appeared; two by Principal CAIRNS, two by Prebendary Row, and one by Professor BLAICKIE. Dr. Cairns writes on "Christianity and Miracles," and on "Christ the Central Evidence of Christianity;" Mr. Row on the "Resurrection of our Lord," and on the

* The Evangelical Succession, a Course of Lectures delivered in St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh, 1881-82. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1882.

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"Existence and Character of God ;" Dr. Blaikie on "Christianity and the Life that now Is." The papers are written with a special view to the objections and speculations against Christianity and even natural religion current at the present day.

In the preface to a revised and enlarged edition of "Better Days for Working People," of which 80,000 copies were disposed of in former editions, Dr. Blaikie says of his work :—

"It shows all through a cordial appreciation of the toils of the working class, and a ready admission that their life has peculiar trials and hardships. I do not, like some well-meaning friends, attempt to deny this ; I accept in the main the working man's own feeling upon it, and I try to show what is the best line for him to take in order to lessen a burden which is felt to be too heavy, and brighten a life which is felt to be too sombre and monotonous. On a reconsideration of the subject, I am more convinced than ever that this is the right point of view, and that if Christian ministers generally would adopt it, we should hear much less of the alienation of the working-classes from the Christian Church."

Notes of the Day.

DR. WILLIAM HANNA.—The death of Dr. Hanna has attracted very wide attention. For the last few years he had occupied a sort of isolated position, shrinking from public life, and beginning to give way to the infirmities of age. In some points, perhaps, he was not in very thorough sympathy with his brethren ; he may have thought their theology too rigid, or their spirit deficient in charity and catholicism ; and, as to Church government, not thinking any form to be *jure divino*, he probably inclined to Congregationalism as furnishing the greatest amount of liberty. Yet no one ever doubted the reality and profundity of Dr. Hanna's piety ; no one doubted, or could doubt, the estimable qualities of his warm and sympathetic heart ; and no one could but own that he had a mind of exquisite refinement and a pen of unrivalled grace.

Dr. Hanna's family was Irish, while his own public life was spent wholly in Scotland. He was born at Belfast, in 1809, his father having been one of the best known and most esteemed ministers of the Irish Presbyterian Church. His first public charge was that of East Kilbride, near Glasgow ; then he was translated to Skirling, in Lanarkshire. Here he married the eldest daughter of Dr. Chalmers. Here, too, on the occurrence of the Disruption, in 1843, he came out from connection with the State, bringing his whole congregation with him, and he continued his ministry in the Free Church of Skirling. On the death of Dr. Chalmers, in 1847, he undertook the task of his biographer, the *Life and Letters* appearing in five successive volumes. On the admirable manner in which he performed that duty, public opinion was cordial and unanimous. The history of the Disruption in that Bio-

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graphy has done more than probably any other book to make known to outsiders the great ecclesiastical controversies of Scotland.

Soon after, he became colleague of Dr. Guthrie, in the charge of St. John's Free Church, Edinburgh; and there he won the highest esteem both as a preacher and a pastor. In literature, at the same time, his pen was very active. Dr. Hanna's Sketches of Wiclif and of the Huguenots were but sketches, but they were singularly graceful and interesting. When he published his lectures on our Lord's Passion, he struck into a new stratum, but, as it proved, one which his rare talents admirably qualified him for working. This book was followed by other volumes of lectures on the Life of our Lord. The subject is handled in its practical and devotional, rather than in its apologetic, aspect. But his success in the region of the practical and the devotional made his books, at the same time, to fulfil admirably the apologetic purpose.

In his later years, Dr. Hanna bore to his brethren a relation somewhat like that which two hundred years ago Robert Leighton bore to the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland. In both there was a sensitiveness and delicacy of feeling, that shrunk from the vigorous style of work and controversy that characterised their Presbyterian brethren; but though Dr. Hanna withdrew from the active work of the Free Church, he still remained in her communion. He longed for a wider charity and a larger freedom. Of his gentleness, kindliness, and generosity it were impossible to speak too highly. Among his friends his company ever brought a rare charm; his preaching, likewise, was eminently bright and refreshing. His colleagueship with Dr. Guthrie was singularly happy; though the two men were of very different types, and differed on many things, they had such confidence in each other's genuineness and goodness, that discord was unknown between them. For a number of years the late Hugh Miller attended the ministry of both, and for both he, too, had the highest esteem. Dr. Hanna had a great power of attaching personal friends; and there were none who had a deeper mutual affection than he and two other well-known citizens of Edinburgh, laid recently in the grave—Thomas Constable and John Brown.

JOSEPH GARIBALDI.—The extraordinary hold which Garibaldi had of the heart and interest of the world was shown in the continuance of his fame long after the close of his public services. Though living quietly at Caprera, he was not forgotten; and when his death took place, the sorrowful emotion of the friends of liberty all over the world was almost as profound as if he had died in the arms of victory. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value of his services in the emancipation of Italy, and in the establishment of civil and religious liberty everywhere. He adds one to the many instances already conspicuous of the strange sources from which God draws instruments for His work. That a sailor-boy, sculling his boat deftly in the waters of Nice, in the days when Napoleon ended his career, should become the great

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instrument of overthrowing tyranny in Italy, and uniting its fragments into one, is about the last thing that would have entered the head of any one at the time. As little, in the sixteenth century, would any one have thought that the hand that was to shatter the mighty structure of the Papacy was that of a Saxon miner's son. Nothing helped more to make Garibaldi great than his indifference to greatness. No one ever doubted that his aims were absolutely pure and patriotic. What his views were on religious topics we do not know; but the fearless devotion which he showed to a noble cause, and the readiness with which he risked everything for it, indicate a virtue which many of pronounced religious profession would do well to emulate.

EGYPTIAN TROUBLES.—No sooner is one portion of the Turkish Empire at rest for a time than trouble breaks out in another. This time it seems to be the turn of Egypt, and Egypt has shown herself quite able to play the part of the troublesome child. The War Minister, who has at his beck the war forces of the country, has mutinied and defied the Khedive. The Khedive is undoubtedly supported by France and England, and nominally, at least, by Turkey, his over-sovereign. In these circumstances it does not appear that the crisis should be a very serious one. But it is a sufficient proof of weakness when such topsy-turvy work is liable to occur, even if it should not last very long. What has taken place seems to show that no reliance can be placed on the power of Egypt to govern herself, if she were to become wholly independent of Turkey. Who, then, is to maintain order in the country? Great Britain certainly has enough both of territory and populations to manage, and her best politicians have no desire for more. Yet it does not seem possible to obtain permanent tranquillity without the aid of such a power as that of Great Britain. It is men like Colonel Gordon that seem to have an instinctive knowledge of how in such lands disorder is to be repressed, corruptions reformed, and tranquillity and prosperity established. Few can question that the best thing that could happen would be the placing of such men in power in Egypt; yet, probably, no one can see by what possibility such an arrangement could be brought about.

SECULAR CONFERENCE.—The National Secular Society ventured on an experiment this year in their place of meeting—selecting Edinburgh for the purpose. It is to be observed that the meeting lasts but one day, and that being a Sunday, attendance is very easy. The meeting appears to have been hearty, and the tone confident, but the proceedings had wonderfully little interest. Three topics may be noted as having had special prominence—the question of oaths; the cultivation of science; and the progress of secularism in India. On the question of oaths, a good deal was said in which non-secularists would readily agree; but it was not pointed out that the worst possible way of getting rid of the imposition of an oath is to treat it with contempt, and insult the great Being in whose name it is taken. The

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simple cultivation of science was considered an excellent way of delivering men from superstition—an odd sentiment to be propounded gravely and deliberately in a place like Edinburgh. We wonder what kind of persons Miss Hypatia Bradlaugh was addressing when she gravely announced it as an important fact that the male skeleton had as many ribs as the female. The progress of secularism in India is an important fact, and points to the necessity of missionary schools of every grade, and to the value of the educational mission work in India. That secularism has many attractions to the working classes of this country likewise cannot be denied, and that many, though not by any means the mass of them, have a considerable tendency towards it. Home mission committees and evangelistic associations have much need to keep this fact in remembrance.

MRS. OLIPHANT AND THE CLAPHAM SECT.—In a recent work on English literature in the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, Mrs. Oliphant has called attention to the inconsistency, as she considers it, of the rich evangelicals who were called the Clapham sect, living in such a style of luxury, and yet professing a religion which demands such mortification of the flesh and surrender of all joys and pleasures of a worldly kind. We do not think that Mrs. Oliphant has handled this subject fairly, but it certainly is a matter requiring careful and discriminating attention. It will probably be found that in the great evangelical revival of last century, the antithesis between this world and the next was made too broad, and that at the present day there is a reaction not altogether uncalled for, from the somewhat extreme position and strong phrases that became current then. On the other hand, many professing evangelicals are evidently rushing with their families to the opposite extreme, and devoting themselves to the pleasures of this life with an eagerness fatal to all real spirituality. It becomes an important question that should be much handled from the pulpit, What is the difference between using the world and abusing it? What is the true meaning of living in all things for the glory of God? In what sense are secular things within, and in what without, the kingdom of God? To answer some of these questions is the object of the fifth paper in the Religious Tract Society's "Present Day Tracts," entitled, "Christianity and the Life that now is."

American Notes.

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES.—The different General Assemblies of this Continent are in session while I write, so that only a brief notice can be given of their proceedings. The Northern Assembly met in Springfield,

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Illinois. The retiring Moderator, the Rev. Dr. Darling, in his opening sermon, discoursed on "Methods of Evangelism," and in so doing spoke of several "wants" of the Presbyterian Church, specifying a more Scriptural estimate of the ministerial office than prevails in these days of miscellaneous evangelism; a closer adherence to the time-honoured simplicity of Presbyterian worship, in opposition to the tendency to "rites and ceremonies;" and a fuller presentation of "the whole counsel of God," in opposition to the diluting and perverting of certain modern schools of thought.

DR. HERRICK JOHNSON.—The new Moderator is Dr. Herrick Johnson, of Chicago, a brother of considerable power, of great courage, and universally beloved. Dr. Johnson had been Professor of Pastoral Theology in Auburn Seminary until he removed to Chicago a short time ago. In business energy and enterprise, Chicago stands amongst the leading cities of the United States; but wealth acquired rapidly, and sometimes by sharp methods, and the presence of a crowd of people of unknown antecedents, have led to a sad state of matters in some respects. Last winter, Dr. Johnson called attention to some of the sins and vices of his townsmen, specially attacking the morality of the theatre as conducted in Chicago, while he summarised the general condition of things in the following trenchant sentences:—

"Politics seized by unprincipled aspirants for place and power; official patronage dispensed with no regard whatever to the public weal; ballots sometimes served out like fixed ammunition, and dropped into the box at the word of command, with a kind of military pride in not caring what they contain, provided they come from the proper quarter; a mayor who will go into a liquor-dealers' convention, and publicly boast of his having been brought up on whisky; a municipal chief, whose sworn duty it is to enforce law, seeking to 'regulate' an iniquity which he is under legal obligation to suppress; gambling-houses flaunting their shameless and lawless infamy in open day; dago dens and low varieties visited, and often crowded, by hundreds and thousands of young men and young women (1180 actually counted as entering one of these vile establishments on one evening between the hours of seven and twelve P.M.); 4000 places for the sale of liquor—i.e., more saloons than lamp-posts, fifteen miles of solid grog-shops; liquors sold to minors in flagrant violation of the law, and boys and girls found drunk in the street; a Sabbath that, in some portions of the city, is a kind of high carnival, where men and women trample on everything sacred with defiant and insolent scoff; over 70,000 children between the ages of six and twenty-one without any religious instruction whatever; the majority of crime in the city committed by minors; criminal classes controlling the juries, and packing them to their purpose."

One can hardly be surprised that so bold an assailant of wickedness in high places should incur the enmity of bad men, or receive all kinds of threats. Dr. Johnson, however, keeps at his work; and now the General Assembly places itself at his back in this fight, by putting him in its Moderator's chair, thus honouring the man and endorsing his positions.

NEW CURRENTS IN THEOLOGY.—Some persons will likely regard Dr.

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Darling's sermon as unjust from what it suggests, but there is no use in denying the fact that a current of nebulous theology has struck the Churches. In some respects it is a wave or wind from the East, and such, the old saw says, is good "for neither man nor beast." It may not to any considerable extent affect the preaching or the believing inside the Presbyterian Church to-day, yet to some extent it certainly does so.

Presbyterianism has been a power hitherto, because, among other reasons, it knew *what* it believed. It possesses a clear-drawn, positive creed; and men, educated or otherwise, do like to hear distinct statements, such having always a restfulness that is grateful to wearied earnest inquirers. It has been a power also, because it knew *that* it believed what it set forth. Young girls, as well as old men, have gone to the martyr's grave rather than deny or even conceal their convictions, and of these witnesses for the truth, Presbyterianism has had not a few. Whatever may be thought respecting their doctrinal beliefs, it is plain that they had "the courage of their convictions," and a system that produces such results, is a power that men have to reckon with in all their arrangements. Presbyterianism has therefore special responsibility for that much caricatured thing—orthodoxy. Now, this wave has struck some of the Churches, and may therefore any day strike ourselves. The Congregationalists are suffering from it. The sons of the Puritans do not always stand where the Pilgrims stood. The Cambridge Synod of 1648 adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith for "substance of doctrine," and "did freely and fully consent thereto," and "judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious." In 1865, the great Boston Council, representing 2723 churches, declared its "adherence to the faith and order of the Apostolic and Primitive Churches held by our fathers, and substantially embodied in the confessions and platforms which our Synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or re-affirmed." In 1871, the great Council of Oberlin, representing 3202 churches, adopted the following:—

"We agree in belief that the Holy Scriptures are the sufficient and only infallible rule of religious faith and practice; their interpretation thereof being in substantial accordance with the great doctrines of the Christian faith, commonly called Evangelical, held in our Churches from the early times, and sufficiently set forth by former General Councils."

On this resolution Dr. Dexter remarks: "This is the actual flag now flying at our denominational masthead;" and scouts the idea that a mere holding of Congregational *polity* is sufficient to entitle a Church to be regarded as a member of the Congregational body. There must be, he says, an agreement in *doctrine*, else we shall have the Smyranean conduct over again—"men saying they are Jews when they are not."

And yet, what are some of the present-day facts? At a Council held recently at Somerville, Mass., Mr. Merriman, who is described as "one

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of the ablest and most scholarly ministers in the Congregational ranks," and who for several years was president of Ripon College, said: "As Christ was born and died for all men, so all men will have a Christian probation. All are dear to Christ, and are to have the offer of the great salvation. But there are many who have no probation whatever on this side of the grave. They have not even a moral probation, much less a Christian one. I do not believe that the Scriptures necessitate the theory that death is the limit of human probation. I believe that all, before they come to the judgment of Christ, will have a Christian probation. The line of probation is the final judgment. Between death and them there might be redemptive progress. Evil did not always exist, and may be terminated; and the phrase 'everlasting,' applied to punishment, does not necessitate the theory of limitless evil or suffering. Nothing in Scripture prevents prayers for the dead." And Mr. Merriman was accepted as sound in the faith by the Council, and installed by it as pastor over a Congregational church! Take another case. The first Congregational church in San Francisco is the representative congregation of the body on the Pacific coast, and has always been regarded as one of the most pronounced in its orthodoxy. It has lately obtained a new minister, and thereupon it issues a new creed, in which the historic doctrines of the Trinity, original sin, the Divine decrees, the atonement, and future retribution are all ignored; and yet church and minister are recognised as in good standing! Such things cannot take place around us without the Presbyterian Church being more or less affected; and hence the call to vigilance.

ANDOVER SEMINARY.—When I wrote last we were in the middle of a sharp controversy respecting Dr. Newman Smyth's appointment to the theological chair. It seems, however, that a committee of three visitors have a veto power on the appointment to this chair, and have seen fit to exercise it. The ground taken is not so much any present unsoundness of Dr. Smyth, as uncertainty as to where his way of looking at things might ultimately lead him. The faculty do not seem to have liked the quiet rebuke, and proposed to head off the visitors by inviting Dr. Smyth to lecture to the students during next session. Dr. Smyth, however, could not go in by a hole in the wall, and has declined the invitation.

In marked contrast with the sharp utterances heard in connection with this appointment, has been the universal approval of the conduct of the trustees of Lane Seminary in appointing Dr. Dewitt of Philadelphia to the Chair of Church History, rendered vacant by the death of Dr. Humphrey.

IMMIGRATION.—It seems as if in a short time we should have no room to turn ourselves in this land if immigrants continue to come as they are doing. During the month of April alone, more than 70,000 immigrants landed in New York, while in the first two weeks of May more than 13,000 landed at Quebec, and the cry is still, "and yet they

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come." The Canadian immigration is chiefly for the North-West, where much hardship will have to be endured. Many of these immigrants imagine that a prairie country resembles a garden, but will find that prairie-farming is not much easier work than clearing timber land. That there is yet room for a few more immigrants both in the States and in Canada may be admitted, so that no person need keep back from coming lest all the good farms should be taken up; but I would suggest that settlers might do well to have a look at farms in Quebec and Ontario before they go further West. The Manitoba fever has led many persons in these provinces to throw up their comfortable homes, while they have gone to the West to speculate much oftener than to farm. The places thus vacated can often be got at a very low rate, and an old country person would thus be at home at once. If he has no capital, then there are hundreds of thousands of acres of timber land in Quebec alone, which province, by-the-by, has a population of some 1,250,000, and a territory as large as all France, or twice that of Great Britain, which the Government will sell at a few cents an acre to *bona fide* settlers. What we want here is population. We have roads and railroads. We have school-houses and Presbyterian churches scattered over the province; but the truth may as well be told, our French rulers do not exert themselves to bring in English-speaking emigrants. An increase of the English population would imperil their power, while the Romish Church does not desire, or in fact *permit*, any emigration from France, since persons from that country are too liberal in both their political and religious views for the comfort of the priests. Hence nothing is done by the powers that be to change in any way the composition of our present population. Lately, however, a number of colonisation companies have been formed to aid English emigrants in coming to Canada East, but as yet these do not amount to much. They are too often more concerned to hold the land for the timber, or a rise in value, than to sell it at low rates to present settlers. Let the people, however, come prepared to work hard now with a view to future comfort and wealth, and they will receive a warm welcome and every assistance in being started on the road to affluence.

RESTORATION OF COMMUNION BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN CHURCHES.—The great event of the Assemblies, now in session, has been the healing of the breach between brethren of the Northern and Southern Churches. The Northern Assembly has been long willing to shake hands with their brethren of the South, but there were sorrows in the South not easily healed. No less, however, than five of the Southern Presbyteries had overtured their General Assembly to open a fraternal correspondence with the Northern Church, so that when the Assembly met the battle had already been half won. A resolution expressive of willingness to co-operate with the Northern Church, as far as practicable, in the work of home and foreign evangelisation, was carried by a large majority, and, after telegrams on the subject had

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been exchanged with the Northern Assembly, succeeded by the following :—

"In order to remove all difficulties in the way of that full, formal, and fraternal correspondence which, on our part, we are prepared to accept, we adopt the following :—That while receding from no principle, we do express our regret for, and our withdrawal of, all expressions of our Assembly which may be regarded as reflecting upon or offensive to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America."

The Northern Assembly having in its turn adopted an identical resolution, each Assembly appointed delegates to attend the Assembly of the other body next year.

No words can express the blessedness of this common act. It does not, of course, mean that the Churches are going to form an organic union ; this is not contemplated, except as Providence may lead on ; but it does mean, that the federal union at present existing through the Presbyterian Alliance is to be rendered *practical for co-operation in Christian activity*, by the two largest English-speaking Churches in the world.

OBITUARY.—One of the promising young ministers of the Presbyterian Church—the Rev. Dr. Beatty of Pittsburgh—died lately, leaving sad memories of a life too short. Dr. Beatty was one of the early supporters of the Alliance, and a contributor to these pages.

G. D. MATHEWS.

General Survey.

SCOTLAND.

FREE CHURCH ASSEMBLY.—The General Assembly of the Free Church met at Edinburgh on the 18th of May, under the Moderatorship of the Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of North Leith—a greatly-beloved and venerated minister, who has left his mark on his Church's history. The Assembly appears to have been on the whole a successful one. The various reports were favourable, and the discussions were friendly. The contributions reached the sum of £607,700—£16,000 over last year, and the highest figure ever attained.

The Free Church has its foreign missions in East and West, South and Central India ; in South and Central Africa ; in the Pacific group of the New Hebrides ; in the Lebanon Province of Syria. It has 38 ordained European missionaries, 5 European medical missionaries, 12 European male and 14 European female teachers (not including zenana agents), 12 European evangelists and artisans—in all, 81 European agents. Then there are 10 ordained native missionaries, 4 native medical missionaries, and 6 native licensed preachers. At 25

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principal stations and 114 branch stations, the Church agents employed number 526. In 37 missionary congregations there are 4300 communicants. Last year, nearly 500 adults were baptised or admitted on profession. The foreign missions revenue is higher than ever before. The ordinary home income has risen from £21,000, three years ago, to £25,000; the income from all sources, we understand, more than double that. Already, it was mentioned, £7500 of the £10,000 proposed as a special fund for the Kaffrarian Mission has been raised.

The Home Mission has also been doing a good work. There are 31 ordinary stations, 24 territorial churches, and 75 congregational missions. Under the Church extension branch of the Home Mission, grants to the amount of £4500 in aid of church building have been made.

The Jewish Mission reports seven baptisms and the large income of £7500, the legacies being much greater than usual. From the report on the continental scheme we learn that the Free Church intends building a new church at Rome, within the walls, for which a large sum (thirteen or fourteen thousand pounds) will be required.

The attendance at the Sabbath schools and senior classes is over 200,000, an increase of 3000.

The "burning questions" were got comfortably over. First of all, a whole day was devoted to the discussion of Disestablishment. The interest was great. Three hours before the usual meeting time, it is said, admission was sought to the Assembly Hall, and through the long day the great hall was crowded. There were three motions—(1) that of Principal Rainy, the gist of which was, that the existence of the Established Church was not a useful or legitimate way of expressing national homage to Christ, while the maintenance of the existing Establishment was unjust and oppressive; (2) that of Professor Bruce, who, representing what is popularly called the broader party in the Church, moved that the General Assembly take no action in advance, but leave individuals to give effect to their convictions on the subject, in their several places in the commonwealth; (3) that of Sir Henry Moncreiff, who, representing, as he would perhaps say, the constitutionalists, moved, in substance, that an opportunity appearing at present to present itself to the Church, of bringing before the country the great principles testified for in 1843, and of getting in some way national recognition of and security for them, the Church ought not to countenance any agitation for a change in the relations of Church and State. The debate, with a short interval, lasted till nearly midnight. When the division came the numbers stood, for Sir Henry Moncreiff's motion against that of Dr. Bruce, 102 to 38; and for Principal Rainy's against that of Sir Henry Moncreiff, 472 to 120, a majority for Disestablishment of 352.

Another matter about which there was much interest, or even, we believe, anxiety, was the movement that was threatened with respect to

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the recent work of Professor Bruce, entitled "The Chief End of Revelation," and also the writings of Dr. Robertson Smith. A motion was made to appoint a committee to examine these books and report to next Assembly. The mover himself admitted in his speech that Dr. Bruce's explanations in private had, on some points, afforded relief to his mind, and Dr. Rainy's proposal to take no action was carried by a large majority.

The third delicate question was that of instrumental music. It was discussed in a calm and conciliatory way. By a majority it was decided that, instead of granting the liberty desired at once, a committee should consider the whole subject and report to next Assembly.

It was also resolved to appoint a committee with reference to the proposed change in the subscription of the Confession of Faith by deacons, before being set apart to their office.

ESTABLISHED CHURCH ASSEMBLY.—The Assembly of the Established Church met on the 25th—a later day, we think, than has been usual for a long period. Her Majesty's Commissioner was the highly respected Earl of Aberdeen. To the Moderator's Chair was chosen the well known Biblical scholar, our distinguished *collaborateur*, Professor Milligan of Aberdeen.

The proceedings of the Assembly throughout were practical and interesting. It had no very difficult or delicate matter to deal with, but a good deal of life prevailed all through.

The contributions of the Church are, on the whole, rather less than last year. The financial statement, constructed on principles which, it was mentioned, would reduce the Free Church total to some £560,000, shows £340,000 in 1881 against £377,000 in 1880.

The Home Mission Committee reported 53 mission stations, and 77 mission churches. Grants to the amount of £6000 have been made for building and enlarging churches. The income for the year is above £9000. Eight new parishes have been endowed during the year, and the £100,000 fund commenced in 1876, has reached the sum of £48,000. The Jewish Mission and the Colonial Mission have both been in vigorous and fairly successful operation, though the contributions have gone slightly back.

The earnest efforts made to increase the Foreign Mission funds have proved successful. The congregational contributions have risen to £9000, an increase of £5000 since 1872. In addition to this, by individual contributions, subscriptions abroad, school fees, and Government grants, &c., the entire income is raised to over £22,000. The foreign missions of the Established Church are in India, China, and Africa. The Indian mission is very prosperous. There have been 154 baptisms in 1881, 88 of these at Darjeeling. The Government report of 1880-81 states the number of pupils in the General Assembly's institution as 501—a number "far exceeding the strength of any college, Government or private, in any previous year."

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In regard to Disestablishment, it may be said that the battle thickens. The Established Church, in a respectful but decided way, has accepted the gage of battle thrown down by the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. Principal Tulloch moved and carried a resolution to the effect, "that in view of the fact that proposals may be introduced into Parliament, and statements affecting the position and welfare of the Church," a committee should be appointed to watch over the matter, and take any needful steps in the Church's interest, and further that, seeing it was desirable to keep their people well informed as to "the position and principles of the Church," a pastoral letter should be prepared and sent to the "members of the Church." A committee, accordingly, was nominated, partly clerical and partly lay, and it seemed to be understood that the Moderator should prepare the letter.

A not uninteresting and pretty sharp discussion took place upon the application of an Independent minister—Mr. Horne—to be received into the Established Church. Principal Tulloch had no difficulty on the subject of his ordination. He did not think that the laying on of hands conferred any sacred or supernatural order. Dr. Sprott of North Berwick, representative of a higher Church party, had far other views. He had not the slightest doubt that many things which Dr. Tulloch might think superstition were essential doctrines of Christianity and doctrines of the Confession. Ultimately Mr. Horne was admitted to all intents as an ordained minister by 89 to 34, Dr. Sprott and his friends dissenting. The question discussed seems to be attracting attention in the Scotch Churches.

We may notice another discussion not quite pleasant. The Foreign Mission Committees of the three great Presbyterian Churches had agreed upon a doctrinal statement and formula for "native elders, licentiates, and ministers." This had passed the Free Assembly and United Presbyterian Synod unchallenged—perhaps not very closely scrutinised. But creed-making is a difficult business: and the new articles failed to pass unscathed through their third ordeal. It was stated that a distinguished theologian, a member of the Assembly, had found various important omissions, and one or two not very defensible expressions. Dr. Story went at the statement, tooth and nail, as a piece of "preposterous patchwork." The debate had many lessons in it; and we should imagine that Dr. Charteris's resolution to refer the matter to a special committee to report to next Assembly, means an end of the conjunct creed.

I R E L A N D.

OUR General Assembly met in Belfast on the 5th of June, and was opened by a powerful sermon by Dr. Stevenson on his favourite subject—the evangelisation of the world. His whole soul seemed to be on fire, and his sermon was eminently calculated to lift up the Church to

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holy enthusiasm in carrying out her great mission. The Rev. T. Y. Killen, of Belfast, was unanimously elected his successor. Mr. Killen is highly esteemed as an able, earnest, and faithful minister, who has rendered great service to the Church, especially in connection with the Sustentation Fund.

After receiving reports from Synods, the Assembly proceeded to consider questions bearing on the internal and spiritual condition of the Church, such as temperance, Sabbath schools, the state of religion, and statistics. The report on temperance was specially interesting this year. Never before did that cause occupy a position so full of hope. Notwithstanding the condition of the country in a social and political point of view, the state of religion was regarded as affording ground for thankfulness. The report on statistics was exhaustive and complete. From every congregation returns were received and tabulated. These returns presented a bird's-eye view of everything connected with each congregation, and were full of interest. They showed that emigration still continues, and notwithstanding this, it was announced that the income of the Church from all sources was £7000 over last year. This was most encouraging, considering the social condition of the country, mercantile depression, and a series of defective harvests. Special attention was given to the Sustentation Fund; several of the rules for its distribution were readjusted. Intense interest was manifested in the missions of the Church, especially the foreign mission. The enthusiasm evoked by Dr. Stevenson's sermon was intensified by the addresses of Rev. Mr. Brown, from India, and the Rev. Mr. Swanson, from China. The proceedings were diversified in a most interesting way by a public breakfast given by "the Women's Temperance Association" to the members of Assembly. On the temperance question the Irish Presbyterian Church has occupied an advanced position for the last fifty years. In one association nearly half her ministers are enrolled, and two-thirds of the whole practise total abstinence, while almost every candidate for the ministry is connected with the same good cause. Deputies from the Free Church attended, one of them being the son of Dr. Guthrie, who received a real Irish welcome for his father's sake. The great interest of the Assembly this year, as for many years past, centred in the music question. Like the Church of Scotland fifty years ago, we have had our ten years' conflict; and though the question at issue cannot for a moment be compared in intrinsic importance to that which ended in the Disruption, the interest is almost equally absorbing. Hitherto the question has been treated very much as involving Church authority. This year the opposing parties tackled on the merits—Is the use of an instrument in public praise authorised by the Word of God?

The discussion commenced on the forenoon of Friday, and terminated on Saturday morning at two o'clock. The attendance of members, especially of elders, was the largest ever known in the history of the

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Church. The building was crowded in every part from the outset, and in the evening was packed to its utmost capacity, while hundreds sought admission in vain. The excitement cannot be expressed in words. It was with difficulty the moderator could bring the house to order. The Rev. H. B. Wilson, of Cookstown, opened the discussion in favour of liberty, in a speech of above two hours, and during the entire time held the vast audience spell-bound. He swept the whole field of the controversy, and when he sat down left the people wondering how anything could be added. The Rev. Dr. Petticrew, the leader on the other side, addressed the house for an hour and a-half. He is what Americans would call "*a strong man*," and on this occasion rose to his full stature, and displayed his usual ability. As already stated, the battle raged till the grey light of morning fell on many a weary-looking haggard face. Not a few of the fair sex who filled the galleries held on to the last, and only rose when the benediction was pronounced. After the roll was called, the moderator announced the result as follows: 705 votes were given, a majority of 15 being in favour of the amendment, which pronounced a decree of absolute prohibition of musical instruments in public praise in every congregation; 247 ministers voted for liberty, and only 161 for prohibition. Of the elders, 199 voted for prohibition, and only 98 for liberty. The question was thus decided by the elders. What the congregations that have been using a harmonium may do remains to be seen. They may submit, and trust to the drift in favour of liberty to secure all they want in a short time. If they resist what some regard as an unwarrantable exercise of power in a Church court, they are face to face with discipline for contumacy.

In the judgment of most reflecting men, time will soon settle this question, and the sooner the better. It is humiliating that a Church with such a noble mission, and in the present critical condition of our country, should be wasting time and energy on such a subject. At the very time when upwards of 700 grave and reverend men are wrangling about liberty to use a harmonium as a help to public praise, the community in which they live is startled and horrified day by day with records of outrage and assassination. Christian men and women in other lands must read of these things with astonishment, and may well ask, Is there not a nobler work for our dear friends of the Irish Church than this contest about instruments of music? The Court is still in session.

As I write, intelligence comes to hand of fresh outrages and assassinations. Men are clamouring for the Bill for the protection of life and property, and for the repression of crime. After all, what can Acts of Parliament do for a people so demoralised? To alleviate the woes of Ireland we must get at the root of the matter, and apply that power which changes the heart and purifies the springs of moral action.

ROBERT KNOX.

[Note.—At later diets of the Assembly, 103 members signed a pro-

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test against the decision regarding instrumental music ; while, by 65 to 56, it was declared inexpedient, under present circumstances, to enter on the books the notice of a motion for next Assembly, "that vocal music is the only form of praise sanctioned by this Assembly."

From the report on the education question, it appears that 828 National Schools are under Presbyterian management. The Assembly declared its continued adherence to the principle of united non-sectarian education, in preference to a denominational system, as best suited to the wants of the country. But Presbyteries were again enjoined to hold an annual examination, in Scripture and the Catechism, of all the Presbyterian children attending the day schools. It was feared that the present arrangements for university education may soon be changed again by the Government.]

FRANCE.

ELECTIONS FOR THE PARIS PRESBYTERY—PÈRE HYACINTHE AND PÈRE MONSABRÉ—
MEETINGS OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

THE long-deferred crisis of the Church in Paris is now a thing of the past. Mr. de Faye having explained the true state of the case, and shown the reason of this new aggression by the civil power, we have not to return to the subject ; suffice it to say, that until now, according to our ecclesiastical traditions, the Reformed Church of Paris, though divided into sections for the more convenient working of the divers Christian agencies, was governed by only one kirk-session. In consequence of a purely arbitrary measure of the Minister of Public Worship, this unity of the Church of Paris has been broken up into eight fragments, each directed by its own session. This measure was taken by the Government at the instigation of Mr. Flourens, a former Bonapartist, and an instrument in the hands of those nominal Protestants who by birth belong to the Reformed Church, but whose negation of religious truths have carried the greater number of them farther from Christian doctrine than even moderate Unitarians would tolerate.

The elections for the nomination of these eight different kirk-sessions took place on May 18th; and we are able to prove by the following figures that the number of loyal adherents to the faith of the Reformed Church has greatly increased. Whereas, in 1872, the evangelical majority was only ninety-eight, it is now 624. This fact is characteristic of the seeds of decay which so-called Liberalism bears within itself. The satisfaction which such a result must cause to all friends of the Gospel is, however, somewhat marred by the fact, that the central parish of the Oratoire has returned, by a very small majority (12), six Liberals. (In 1872, the Liberals had a majority of 156 votes.) This is to be accounted for by the circumstance, that the Directeur des Cultes, Mr. Flourens, carefully mapped out that electoral circumscription in such a manner as to assure as favourable a voting ground as possible

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to his protégés. Such are the anxiously expected results of the voting of the 18th of May, and there is on the whole much cause for thankfulness. The past crisis shows that a much greater majority than formerly is now attached to Scriptural doctrine, and that the whole life-work of the Church, the larger number of church-goers, the communicants, have a growing knowledge of the importance of unswerving fidelity to the old Church of their fathers.

As to the results of these elections, opinions are much divided on the subject. It is, we must confess, not without astonishment that we find faithful men, who are an honour to Protestant Christianity, emitting the opinion expressed in the last number of this magazine. Nothing can be further from our thoughts than to indulge in a polemical tendency in this organ of union and concord among all branches of the great Presbyterian connection. Still we cannot refrain from a feeling of surprise at the dilemma laid down in page 467 of *The Catholic Presbyterian*, which, if we understand aright, comes to this—either breaking the tie which connects the Church to the State, or accepting reconciliation with the so-called Liberal party, and even consenting to nominate a pastor of those opinions to the Church of the Oratoire, as a doctor in divinity proposed in one of the last numbers of the *Revue Chrétienne*. That, on account of these arbitrary interventions of the State, rapid strides are being made towards the complete autonomy of the Reformed Church, is an indisputable and welcome fact, and one for which we are all deeply grateful. But that, *en attendant*, by a mistaken and weak-minded policy of conciliation, Christian Presbyteries should be exhorted to name as pastors of the Reformed Church the worst antagonists of its faith and discipline, seems to us an overdrawn conclusion. Though connected with the State, the Reformed Church has its recognised and well-defined articles of faith; and we fail to see that, if the authorities violate the terms of the contract, we should consider ourselves bound to lend a hand thereto. The Presbytery of Paris nominating, under the pressure of events, a theist to the pastorate of the Oratoire, would seem to us about as rational as the Archbishop of Paris nominating a Protestant divine to one of the Roman Catholic parishes of that city. It is quite a different matter to suffer under protest from an arbitrary measure illegally carried out by the State, or to sanction this measure by the nomination of a rationalist to one of the principal churches. In the first case, faithfulness to the dictates of conscience remains intact; in the second, Christian fidelity would be most seriously compromised.

One of the prominent events of the last month in Paris has been a lecture on the Inquisition, recently given by Père Hyacinthe, before an overflowing audience of about 5000 hearers, in the "Cirque d'Hiver." The most celebrated representative of Roman Catholic pulpit eloquence is at present Père Monsabré. This père has of late consecrated his powerful gifts to the vindication of ultra-Romanist ideas, and for several

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evenings in the vast nave of Notre Dame, the reverend father has been holding forth in apology of the Holy Inquisition, and its great and noble deeds. Father Hyacinthe was unable to restrain his indignation, and challenged the Père Monsabré to meet him on neutral ground, for a controversy on the rôle and merits of the holy office. This challenge the Dominican friar refused to accept in most insulting terms. Father Hyacinthe then convoked the people of Paris to a "conférence" on the subject, and rose to the highest degree of eloquence in refuting the hideous apology for the Inquisition made a few weeks before by Mr. Monsabré. This discourse of Père Hyacinthe has once more shown that he has an important function to fulfil in the religious crisis of the present day. It is true that in the eyes of many his ecclesiastical system might be truly characterised as a "halting between two opinions," and that it is hard with the present disposition of minds in France to find any firm standing ground between Romanism and Protestantism. But still, leaving aside questions of Church organisation, Father Hyacinthe remains one of the most eloquent and powerful expositors of Christian truth for the intelligent classes of Frenchmen who are, *de facto*, detached from Romanism, but who have not yet found a haven of rest for their souls. He is at present, by his popular lectures, sowing much good seed; the season for ripening is yet unknown, but will surely come in God's own time.

In France, as in England, May appears to be the favourite time for the meetings of religious societies. A few words on the work of the different Christian agencies will suffice to show a satisfactory progress. This year, the remarkable philanthropic establishment founded by the lamented John Bost, was represented by its new director, Mr. le Pasteur Rayroux; 400 poor wrecks of humanity are cared for spiritually and physically in these asylums, the yearly expenditure of which amounts to £10,000. The three principal home-missionary societies have also presented gratifying reports on the good work carried on among the whitening fields of France. The meeting of the "Société Evangélique" was overcast with gloom, owing to the great loss sustained by the death of Dr. Fisch. There is every hope, however, that a worthy successor to this faithful servant of God has been found in the person of Pasteur Mouron, who for several years past has been at the head of the French Free Church at Strasbourg. The "Société Centrale d'Evangélisation" sees its sphere of usefulness enlarging almost daily. This year its expenses will be close upon £12,000; new ground is being broken in all directions, and this is owing in a great measure to the pioneering of the aggressive "Mission Intérieure," of which our friend, Mr. Réveillaud, is, so to speak, the impersonation. The "Mission Intérieure," founded shortly after the war by MMs. Babut and Recolin, is now divided into a northern and a southern branch. The tenth annual meeting took place at Nîmes,

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the bulwark of Protestantism in the south. The northern branch has the spécialité of sending lecturers to Roman Catholic towns, and making known the pure and simple Gospel. The result is in many cases the formation of a nucleus of Protestants, which is passed over to the "Société Centrale," and may be afterwards constituted into a church. In the south of France the agents of the "Mission Intérieure" direct their efforts rather towards the re-awakening of Christian faith and life in the ancient churches.

This year, however, the sympathetic attention of the religious public was principally attracted by the "Missionary Society." It was with sadness and regret that the well-known figure of Dr. Casalis, one of the founders of our South African Missions, was missed from the platform. After a career of half-a-century's usefulness and devotion as missionary and director of the Missionary Institute in Paris, he has been obliged by failing health to cease taking an active part in missionary enterprise. He will at least have the satisfaction of seeing the great work, to which he has consecrated his life, enter on a new phase of development. He has lived long enough to see a devoted band of native evangelists set out to preach the Gospel on the Zambesi, the banks of which were explored two years ago by Mr. Coillard. The Church begotten in Basutoland by the old Reformed Church of France, is now in its turn becoming a missionary Church. Mr. Coillard, after spending two years in Europe to enlist the sympathies of Christian friends on behalf of this grand work, is now returned to Africa. He is accompanied by a young artist, Mr. Christol, and his wife. Mr. Christol, who is a rising painter, has given up fame and fortune to help Mr. Coillard in planting this new mission. "If I pass away," said Mr. Coillard, "if Christol pass away, rest assured that nevertheless God's work will be done on the Zambesi." Such were the last words of Mr. Coillard's "adieux," at the general meeting of the Missionary Society; and we add, that the Great Master of the vineyard will surely bless an enterprise commenced and carried out in this spirit.

H. J. WHEATCROFT.

ORLEANS.

GERMANY.

THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SOCIETY.

HALF a century has now passed away since this Society was founded. In the autumn of the present year, a great jubilee-festival of its friends is to be held in Leipzig. The final meeting of this festival will be held at the monument which marks the spot where the great king [Gustavus Adolphus] was struck by the fatal bullet. Representatives of the Evangelical Churches from almost all the countries of Europe will come together on this great occasion, partly to express their thanks for the help which the Society has rendered to them, partly to set forth their need of farther aid. Thus this festival will form itself into a triumphal feast of fraternal love, in which our

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faith will give proof to the world of its vital strength. Perhaps it will be of interest to the brethren of the English-speaking sister Churches to learn something in detail of the history and the present condition of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. It would be a happy result of my writing these lines if the Leipzig festival were graced by the personal visits and addresses of brethren of the various evangelical denominations from Great Britain and North America.

At Lützen there is a monument, the "Swede's Stone" (Schwedenstein), as it is called, formed from one of those great erratic blocks brought down from the high northern regions of the Scandinavian peninsula during the glacier period, and which are thickly scattered over the whole of the northern plains of Germany. On this singular monument there is the simple inscription, "G. A., 1632." Here it was that on the 6th November, 1632, King Gustavus Adolphus, the knightly soldier who fought for the cause of the Protestantism of Germany, fell wounded by a fatal bullet. In the year 1832, a great crowd assembled at the "Swede's Stone," to celebrate the memory of the fallen hero of the faith. There, on that same 6th November, it was proposed by Scheld, a merchant of Leipzig, that a monument more worthy of the Swedish king should be erected, for which purpose a halfpenny collection was made over the whole of Germany. But the man who was at the head of the committee selected for this purpose, Dr. Grossmann, of Leipzig, proposed that a better monument than one of stone or brass should be erected to the memory of Gustavus Adolphus—viz., that a society should be formed for the purpose of rendering help to brethren in the faith in the Diaspora, in the building of churches and schoolhouses, and in general in the maintaining of Gospel ordinances amongst them. This it was said would be the most worthy monument for the great succourer of Protestant Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

On the 8th December, 1832, he issued in the name of the committee a proposal to found an association for the relief of oppressed Protestants and the mitigation of the distress in which, by reason of the agitations of the times and other circumstances, Protestant congregations both in and out of Germany were placed. Two committees were nominated to carry out this object, one at Leipzig, and the other at Dresden. The two were combined and drew up common regulations, which on the 4th October, 1834, received the approbation of the Government. The direction lay in the hands of the two central committees of Leipzig and Dresden, that at Leipzig alone having the administration of the funds.

Thus sprang into existence the "Gustavus Adolphus Verein." The favour with which it was welcomed did not, however, come up to the hopes of its founders. From Southern Germany, for instance, very few contributions were received, and although the committee published their report every year, yet the institution was almost wholly unknown out of Saxony. Yet it developed itself gradually and found help and countenance from the kings of Prussia and Sweden. The king of

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Sweden ordered that throughout his kingdom a church-door collection should be made in its behalf every sixth year, which brought to the treasury of the Verein over 30,000 marks. On the 6th November, 1841, the Society had a capital of 38,550 marks, from which they were able, however, to meet only a small part of the applications for help, particularly from Austria.

There were contemporaneously two men in the south of Germany who knew nothing of each other, nor of the Saxon institution, but who aimed at the founding of a society having the same objects as the Gustavus Adolphus Verein. These were Legrand, in Basel, who propounded at a preachers' conference the idea of a union for the support of evangelical congregations; and the court-preacher, Dr. Zimmermann, of Darmstadt, who at the commemoration of the Lutheran Reformation, held on the 31st October, 1841, made an appeal to the Protestant world, in which, moved by the zeal displayed by the French Catholics in behalf of their fellow believers, he describes the sad condition of the Protestants of the Diaspora, and called for the formation of a union for their support. This appeal had favourable results beyond all expectation. The subject was talked of in the whole of Germany and in Switzerland, for at that time Church matters engaged public attention much more than they had done ten years before in all circles of the Evangelical Church.

Dr. Zimmermann put himself into correspondence with the Saxon committee, and in September, 1842, an assembly was held at Leipzig, when a union was effected between the old and this newer association. Leipzig was to remain the ruling centre of the Verein, which now assumed the name "Evangelical Union (*Verein*) of the Gustavus Adolphus Society" (*Stiftung*). At the second General Assembly of the Verein, held at Frankfort-on-the-Main in September, 1843, as many as twenty-nine branch associations were represented by their delegates. Deputies appeared also from countries beyond the bounds of Germany. At this meeting the rules and regulations for the institution (*Stiftung*) were definitely fixed and agreed upon.

The Verein was declared to be "an association of members of the Protestant Churches, for the purpose of rendering aid to their brethren in and out of Germany, wherever such aid is needed, for the promotion of Church life, and for protection amid dangers, when it could not be obtained from their own Fatherland." Having control of the whole, there was a central committee which met in Leipzig. The present president is Professor Dr. Fricke, and the secretary Dr. Von Kriegern, in Leipzig. In every country, and in larger states such as Prussia, in every province, there is a central society (*Hauptverein*), having its own branch or subordinate unions associated with it. Of such central societies there are at present 53, having about 1100 branch unions. There are also 8 students' unions formed in several university towns. The "women's associations," of which there are at present 377, have undertaken the special duty of supplying the churches with all needed

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articles of furniture, such as altar-covers, Bibles, communion-cups, &c. Every year, formerly only every three years, a general assembly of all the friends of the Verein is held, lasting for several days, in one or other of the states of Germany to which they may have been invited. Every branch, in the same way as every central society, has the right of control over a third part of its income, the remaining two-thirds being handed over to the general treasury. The older institution, with its capital fund, was merged into the union thus formed at Frankfort.

The farther history of the Verein shows the most encouraging results. It is true the formation of such unions was forbidden within the kingdom of Bavaria; the gifts sent for the support of poor Protestant congregations in that kingdom durst not even be received, and were sent back. But after some years this prohibition was withdrawn. The same thing happened also in Austria. In Prussia, the interests of the Gustavus Adolphus Verein from the very first drew out the warmest sympathy both of the king and the people. In Prussia it passed through an internal crisis which, however, the Lord of the Church overruled for good. A rationalist minister, Rupp of Königsberg, who had been cast out by the Church and had formed a free congregation, sought to represent the Königsberg Central Society at the General Assembly at Berlin, in September, 1846. They hesitated to recognise this rejecter of the Christian faith, and the action of the Berlin committee in doing so gave rise to a long and violent controversy, some supposing that the spirit of love and of freedom of conscience would be injured by its action. Large numbers of "Free-thinkers" declared their secession from the Verein. However, at the General Assembly held at Darmstadt in the year 1847, a pacific measure was adopted. It was decreed that the General Assembly had certainly the right, even though the commission of the representative were in perfect order, to exclude him for internal reasons and declare his commission void. At present the positive party take an active interest in the work of the Verein, although here and there also the free-thinkers have the majority. On this ground, however, there has not sprung up any controversy to mar this work of love.

And now, let me instance the kind of work in which this Society is engaged, that its true importance may be seen. It must be confessed that Germany is a poor country, and such astonishing sums as are reported from year to year at the May meetings, in London and Edinburgh, cannot be equalled by us. But we have not amongst us those who inherit great possessions, and who are able to spend their ten thousands and their hundred thousands without diminishing their wealth. The rich people in Germany are generally Jews. Our contributions for the most part consist of the small gifts by poor people, and on that account have their worth in the sight of God. I refer to the Report of the Thirty-fifth General Assembly of the Verein, held at Dortmund, from the 16th to 18th August, 1881. According to it, the income of the Verein,

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in the year 1879-80, was 743,962 marks, and the expenditure 740,954 marks. Since the foundation of the Verein, 16,328,828 marks in all have been distributed among Protestant congregations. 2878 congregations and institutions were in the course of the year assisted,—some of them so feeble, that but for the help so rendered, they would have ceased to exist. Then, every year some special work in behalf of some specially needy congregation is undertaken. Last year this was in behalf of a poor congregation in the Prussian province of Posen, on which the sum of 17,000 marks was expended. The sums distributed during these forty-nine years of the Society's existence have been as follow :—The countries and provinces now united to Prussia received 6,851,390 marks ; the rest of Germany, 2,747,916 ; Austria, 4,860,173 ; other European and trans-European countries, 1,869,350 ; among which Roumania received 162,953 ; Asiatic Turkey, 144,809 ; France, 521,172 ; Algeria, 124,410 ; Italy, 120,331 ; Spain, 78,335 ; North America, 17,957 ; South America, 40,190 ; Great Britain also is represented, for it received the modest sum of 160 marks.

A special jubilee fund, to be raised to the amount of 100,000 marks, is destined for the Evangelical Church of Austrian-Hungary, in commemoration of the centenary celebration of the Edict of Joseph II. on the 13th October, 1781, granting toleration. This gift was intended as a fund from which allowances might be given to ministers and teachers, and their widows and orphans, and was to be handed over to the Austrian Church on the day of the celebration. But, sad to say, the Reformed congregations hesitated to share in the same fund with the Lutheran, and thus the plan, as originally framed, cannot be carried out. Another mode of distributing the fund has, however, been devised. It has been resolved to found an institution (*Pensionsanstalt*) which shall in no way be connected with any confession, or nationality, or diocese, which shall distribute the fund among ministers of the evangelical churches of the Augsburg and Helvetic confessions, and among teachers who have the charge of schools connected with both confessions. It is sad to say that since the introduction of the new Austrian school-law of the 14th May, 1869, the number of evangelical schools has fallen from 375 to 239, simply because the evangelical congregations were too poor to maintain them.

I close my account of this great association with a communication from Austria, the facts of which are perhaps already known to my readers. It is well known that, in the year 1731, the Archbishop Firmian, of Salzburg, after grievous persecution, drove 20,000 of his evangelical subjects out of his country on account of their faith. A Countess Firmian, who died on the 23rd January, 1881, the widow of General Leopoldine, of Recagni, has now in some measure rectified the injustice of her ancestor. She has in a legal way set apart, out of the rents of her estate in perpetuity, the sum of 100 gulden (£10) for orphan children of the Evangelical Church. "I believe that in doing this,"

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she says in her will, "I am discharging a debt; since one belonging to my family, during last century, perhaps in too fanatical a manner, persecuted many evangelical families even unto death." "Truly that is a wonderful thing that has happened," says an Austrian evangelical journal, "that a member of the noble house of Firmian, whose name stands on one of the darkest pages of our Church's history, should show such beneficence to our Church. The departed lady frequently during her life declared, in the presence of Protestants, that she saw in the fortunes of her house the hand of Him who has threatened to visit with judgment the unmerciful; and among these she mentioned that Archbishop Firmian. She had reached the age of some sixty years, and had two brothers and two sisters. The three Countesses Firmian always maintained friendly relations with their evangelical neighbours, and sometimes attended their public worship. The departed benefactress often attended and helped the poor and afflicted Protestants in their own homes. We almost felt constrained to designate her the first deaconess of Austria."

PFORTA.

L. WITTE.

OPEN COUNCIL.

EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

ANY remedy that proposes to alleviate a portion of the evils in the present awful condition of the south and west of Ireland must, I conceive, find favour with the friends of humanity.

In the July number of *The Catholic Presbyterian* for 1881, I furnished the evidence of several witnesses to the vast importance and urgent necessity of the emigration clauses in the Land Act, which was passed in last session of Parliament. The most important of them were LORD DUFFERIN and JAMES H. TUKE, Esq., author of "Irish Distress and its Remedies." I desire now to produce additional evidence on this point. The first is a Roman Catholic gentleman, J. A. Fox, Esq. Mr. Fox was a member of the Dublin Mansion-House Committee for the Relief of Distress in Ireland in 1879-80. He was asked by them to make a tour through County Mayo in 1880, and to report on the condition of its distressed districts. On his return, the committee published his report. He kindly gave me a copy of it, and a smaller pamphlet, from which I state his views. He says that his visit was of the most painful nature. He found that many thousands of the peasantry were kept from starvation through the agency of public charity alone, and that the normal condition of the peasantry of Mayo, at the best of times, is one bordering on starvation. As to their dwellings, it would be impossible to describe their discomforts, their unsuitableness for human habitation,

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and the utter wretchedness of their surroundings. The inmates are half-starved, often nearly naked ; their daily food is Indian meal and inferior potatoes, which an Englishman would think good enough only for his pigs. Yet these simple peasants, thus starved and naked, have many virtues. They are strictly moral, and their family attachments are proverbially strong, nor are these weakened by the longest absence. He found them most industrious—the women and children, as well as the men, doing the lowest drudgery ; in fact, doing the work of cattle. One case he describes as too common in Mayo. The mother of the family was dead ; the father in England, striving to earn a few pounds there to pay his rent ; the land nearly covered with rocks and boulders ; the mother's cloak, the last presentable garment to enable any of the girls to appear at chapel, *pledged* for a trifle ; six children without a blanket to cover them at night. They slept on dirty straw, their covering the filthy sacking which had conveyed to them or their neighbours the seed potatoes and artificial manure which came from the Union of the previous year. Such is a sample of the hapless state of poor Mayo. Yet Mr. Fox records many cases of similar wretchedness.

The witness I seek now to produce is one of Ireland's best friends—JAMES H. TUKE, Esq. In addition to Mr. Tuke's publications on behalf of Ireland, he has lately published in the *Contemporary Review* a very important article, in which he asserts that nearly a *fifth* of the population of Ireland live in a condition of abject poverty. This is a fact too much forgotten in discussion on Ireland. He shows that more than two hundred thousand families, representing one million of human beings, have no other means of subsistence than from one to ten acres of bog land for each family. In Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Clare, and Kerry, seventy-seven thousand holdings are rented under £4 yearly, and forty-seven thousand eight hundred holdings are rented under £10 per annum.

It would be impossible for these families to maintain themselves, and a large portion of them are also plunged in debt. They will never be contented, nor even quiet, under such circumstances. Whenever the families in these districts can afford to send but one of their family away, he emigrates ; the richest sending the largest portion. Though Mr. Tuke is anxious for strictness in the payment of their rents, he draws a sad picture of the poverty of some of the evicted families. He says, "When evictions take place among some of the very poor, when driven from the miserable dwelling which has served them as a home, and has been the roof-tree of generations, they have absolutely no means for their support but the workhouse. There arises in my mind a most serious question as to the propriety of the State being called on to employ all its powers to enforce the debt, without some other alternative to offer than the dreaded workhouse."

The question then arises, he says, "Is any amelioration of the condi-

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tion of the people of this class to be expected from the Land Act? Will reduction of rent, or fixity of tenure, or facilities to purchase, or the loan clause, be of avail to convert a miserable and destitute population into a prosperous and contented one?" In answering the question, the existence of long arrears has also to be taken into the account. There is little chance of these poor people being able to buy their holdings; and even if they could, in many instances they are not worth the purchase. What, then, is left but to seek abroad the rewards of industry unattainable at home? He laments that the emigration clauses in the Land Act have been almost stultified by the opposition of the Land League Members of Parliament. Is it possible that these men, who count themselves the only genuine Irish patriots, have sought to defeat a measure which would rescue thousands of their countrymen and their families from starvation? O Shame! where is thy blush?

He recommends that, as the aid given by the State for emigration has been quite insignificant, from those impediments referred to, and as ample power seem to be given to poor-law unions to borrow money for emigration, this plan should be resorted to, and that the State should be entreated to lend it for this purpose. He says that the sum required to support five families in the workhouse would, if capitalised, suffice to assist one hundred persons to emigrate. Thus he does not advise a wide and sweeping emigration, but a gradual one, giving more room to the remaining families in those over-crowded districts. What cheering prospects offer to these poor emigrant families in the vast prairies of Canada and other lands! "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."

Mr. Tuke adduces many proofs of the deep anxiety of the poor Irish to emigrate. When he asked them lately, their reply was frequently, "It's only the cost, sure, that keeps us at home, sir." He quotes a unanimous resolution of the Clifden (Co. Galway) Board of Guardians, "Resolved, that taking into consideration the poverty and destitute condition of the poorer classes of tenantry of this Union, particularly those evicted for non-payment of rent, and also those along the sea-shore holding miserable patches of land, caused by the subdivision of holdings, and who for three-fourths of the year are in a state of semi-starvation, we respectfully request the interference of the Government to assist in the way of emigration."

He also quotes from seventy-eight replies of the Romish clergy, to a circular issued by Mr. Vere Foster, a Belfast gentleman, who has contributed very generously to assist the emigration of young girls from the south and west to Canada. "I made careful inquiry about them, and have to state that the girls are all doing well. Many girls in this parish are very desirous of emigrating, but are unable to make up the balance in addition to your subscription. 3. The girls who left this parish, and were assisted by you, have sent cheering accounts with small remittances to their parents, say from £2 to £3." "I have just

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returned from Canada. . . . In all cases I have met (with one exception), the girls are happy, and would not come back on any condition. The want of female help is the greatest now in the Dominion. In all Ontario, the cry of the people I mixed with was, 'Send us as many girls as you can.' . . . I have received commissions to send out 250 girls, but I am straitened from want of means. May I expect your further grants?"

Mr. Tuke says that false and sentimental talk on the subject of emigration has been indulged in to the infinite injury of these impoverished people. Who ever affects to talk of "banishment" or "expatriation" in reference to Englishmen who yearly go abroad "to seek their fortunes," and who, following in the footsteps of their fathers, have helped to colonise and civilise the world?

We may justly regret the necessity which the impoverished condition of the soil and small holdings, or any other conditions combined, impose upon Irishmen to leave their native land; but to oppose the departure of thousands who are unable to obtain a decent livelihood in Ireland, to a country which offers them land at the lowest price, and at the same time gives the highest price for the labour they have to dispose of, seems alike short-sighted and impolitic. Just as well might they oppose the exportation of thousands of tons of Irish potatoes now leaving for New York, and proclaim that they should be left to rot at home.

Unpatriotic do they call it? It is the law written on the human race; the law which drew Abraham from his native land; the law which, written in the minds of the great Aryan family, led them to descend from their Eastern homes to people and fertilise the plains of Europe; the law which led Columbus and Vasco de Gama, and a host of others, to search for and to point out the New World; the law which has impelled, and is now impelling tens of thousands of people of all nationalities in Europe to surge forth with increasing volume in that great wave of humanity which breaks upon the shores of the Western world, not to devastate, but to fertilise and to bless. And in that vast gathering of all European races which goes to form the great American nation, Ireland may well be proud to have contributed her full quota; and spite of some omens to the contrary, the world may be congratulated that both the sentiment and the vivacity of the Irish race will thus be perpetuated, and will help to mould the character of the great English Republic of the future. Better far a prosperous and contented Ireland, with four millions of people, if it were so, than a pauperised, impoverished, and discontented Ireland, with five or eight millions.

BELFAST.

AND. CRAWFORD.

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